

PRS-EER-89-060  
2 MAY 1989



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Europe**

19980130 029

REPRODUCED BY  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
NATIONAL TECHNICAL INFORMATION SERVICE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

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# East Europe

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## HUNGARY

**Agrarian Leader Marton on Politics, Life**  
25000205c Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG  
in Hungarian 8 Apr 89 p 56

[Interview with Janos Marton, vice chairman of the Hungarian People's Party (MNP), by Andras Lindner and Zoltan Horvath: "Janos Marton, Vice Chairman of the Hungarian People's Party"; date and place not given]

[Text] Although Janos Marton, son of a large peasant family in Sarkad, enrolled at Palatine Jozsef Technical and Economic University in 1941, he finished his studies after several interruptions only in 1963, at the age of 41, at the Agriculture University of Godollo. His unusual career began in the field of politics: between 1945 and 1947, he was the Csongrad Megye secretary of the National Peasant Party and then spent two years at the National Center of Agricultural Cooperatives and its legal successor. The energetic young man was called on to join the staff of the National Planning Office in 1950 by Zoltan Vas, where he worked until the end of December 1956. "I liked the old man," he says reminiscing about Zoltan Vas, "primarily because of his frailties. I came to know him as a hard-working, open and well-mannered man." Marton was also a director of the secretariat as well as deputy chairman responsible for agriculture. In the latter post he participated in the planning and implementation of Imre Nagy's new agricultural policy.

After Christmas 1956, he was dismissed from the National Planning Office and, at the same time, from the university. By March 1957, however, he was working again, this time as Ferenc Erdei's associate at the Agricultural Research Institute where he remained for nearly 30 years, directing the institute upon Erdei's death. Although he retired in 1986, the term is deceiving, for he has accepted numerous responsibilities: He is a representative in the National Assembly, Vice President of the Patriotic People's Front and also a member of the MNP's executive presidium.

He considers "The Integrating Economy" (1977) to be the most important of his 23 books, several hundred essays and articles and more than a hundred articles abroad.

Janos Marton works conscientiously to maintain his physical strength: In his garden in Leanyfalu, he does even the most demanding gardening himself. His wife is retired, one of his sons works for the Nixdorf firm at the main office in Hamburg, another son works in Budapest at the Agrobank, one daughter is a teacher in Fot and another daughter is the legal counselor for the Enying State Farm.

[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG (HVG)] You once stated that throughout your life you have observed three principles: not to be afraid of anything; not to allow the

weaker to be harmed; and never to lie. How were you able to follow through on this? Have you, in your official capacities, always told the truth?

[Marton] There is no denying that this was the most difficult thing. Fortunately though, I had superiors such as Zoltan Vas, Ferenc Erdei and others who expected this of me. In my life of ups and downs, I always accepted the risk of telling the truth.

[HVG] You directed the Agricultural Research Institute. But during that time the public heard practically nothing of agricultural problems.

[Marton] Hungarian science is compelled to function under characteristic circumstances, in structure built on the rapport between customer and producer. Our institute depended, both financially and morally, on how we fulfilled the ministry's demands. All three ministers under whom I worked Imre Dimeny, Pal Romany and Jenő Vancsa expected us to inform them, but only them, of the exact truth. It is also true, of course, that whenever an opportunity arose during my public appearances, I always disclosed the problems because I believe that lying to young people is soul-destroying.

[HVG] How were you in the research institute able to tolerate the fact that agriculture has almost constantly been the "milking cow" of industry?

[Marton] We tried to oppose it with every possible means. Perhaps this is why I have the continued trust of the peasantry.

[HVG] Let us remain for the moment with the problems and your field. In your opinion, which persons caused the most damage to agriculture after 1957?

[Marton] Only the ramifications of faulty decisions reached me. Nevertheless, I would mention Bela Biszku whose group launched an attack against the development of small farms and opposed the concept of integrating food production. In addition, perhaps the greatest crime was the bad and mistaken attitude of the megye [county] secretaries.

[HVG] In your opinion, which were the three most blameworthy decisions of the last 30 years from the standpoint of agriculture?

[Marton] The nationalization of cooperatives, gigantomania, and the strangling of traditional peasant values.

[HVG] The most recent of your innumerable functions and positions is your deputy chairmanship of the reviving MNP. Who is expected to join the party?

[Marton] My concept is, not a mass party but a quality party. I think a realistic expectation is for 10 to 20 percent of the voters, i.e., about one million people, to



join us. Incidentally, we expect the "cream of the crop," educated people who like to read. Even our predecessor, the National Peasant Party, excluded farm size as a factor in admitting new members, and many large-holders were still members.

[HVG] You were part of the team that worked out Imre Nagy's 1953 farm policy. What elements of that program are still valid today?

[Marton] That farm policy was intended to drastically change the extremely low prices for produce delivered to the state, setting them closer to market prices. Under that policy, the changes in market prices were considered most important.

[HVG] In my recollection, this is not what was proclaimed in the 1970's.

[Marton] Of course not, because at that time a general adoption of market prices would have excessively widened the gap between prices of agricultural and industrial products.

[HVG] Have you discovered any concepts in the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] CC's [Central Committee] agricultural theses that are similar to those of the MNP's platform? Many people say that they "stole" these from the MNP. Do you agree?

[Marton] On the contrary, I was glad to see some of the theses of the Peter Veres Society such as the need for establishing a chamber of agriculture, updating the protection of interests, and the phrase that the producer should be the subject, not the object, of agricultural policy.

[HVG] Do you think it conceivable that you will form a coalition with the Small-Holders' Party?

[Marton] Yes, but we are still in the phase of exchanging ideas and mutually feeling each other out.

[HVG] And, what if the MSZMP, in looking for an ally, would choose your party? Would you be willing to form a coalition with them, also?

[Marton] Under no condition as a single ally. Too many victims of the "salami policy" are still alive.

[HVG] Tell me, being closer to the age of seventy than sixty, what prompted you to begin a political career having a rather uncertain outcome?

[Marton] That my generation should not be a generation of shame. That our children will not say of us that we left only bad things behind for this world.

[HVG] It seems to me that you like to state things full of pathos.

[Marton] What I said does indeed sound like that. But what I was alluding to was that there is now a special need for differentiating between values and vileness and for preserving for posterity every accomplishment that serves the future.

#### **Szuross Seen as Potential National Assembly Chairman**

25000203a Budapest *MAGYAR NEMZET* in  
Hungarian 11 Mar 89 p 4

[Article by "DIURNUS": "The Chairman of the House"]

[Text] The Hungarian renaissance of openness also means that personal opinions (can there be anything but a personal opinion?) will be heard with increasing clearness in politics. Even a journalist can have a personal opinion regarding situations, politicians and decisions. What was previously mumbled and said only in the company of friends, can now be put down on paper. In print.

Matyas Szuros is an attractive figure in Hungarian politics. He certainly had a personal role in changing our views and actions in foreign policy in the last few years to a more defined, more national and more realistic one, in taking up the cause of Magyars beyond our borders, and in voicing the country's viewpoints with increasing firmness at the world's important forums. Therefore, I felt somewhat anxious when I learned that foreign policy was being transferred from the domain he knows and represents so well, to the stage of the National Assembly which until now has been the scene of skirmishes mainly in internal policy and domestic economy. I was unhappy that Hungarian foreign policy was losing one of its outstanding experts. And I was concerned that one or the other of our foreign partners might perhaps welcome this change.

I now console and encourage myself that in this new situation foreign policy and one of the main elements in our movement for independence has been and is being promoted to the rank of vital national importance. Through his personal influence and prestige, the chairman of our National Assembly may also endow his office with new stature, for we know that, in our country, too, personality determines the radiance or insignificance of an office. The President of the House may well become a leading man in Hungary's internal as well as foreign politics in the light of a mature, adult, reviving Hungary.

#### **Glasnost Club Position on Draft of Press Law**

25000203g Budapest *MAGYAR NEMZET* in  
Hungarian 22 Mar 89 p 5

[Article by "gergely": "The Legal Regulation of Data Protection Should Not Be Postponed any Longer"]

[Text] At the official request of the legislators, the National Glasnost Club organized a debate yesterday evening on the new press law draft which is still designated as informative. Dr Laszlo Solyom reported that as

many as five institutions have already voiced their opinions on the guidelines and that the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] CC [Central Committee] will put the draft of this high-level statutory provision—which is of public interest—on its agenda. Incidentally, the MSZMP has already cast its votes on numerous related proposals of the Glasnost Club, accepting and representing most.

Dr Laszlo Solyom emphasized at yesterday's meeting that the freedom of setting up a press and starting a paper has become a very important item of the draft and that the latter, for instance, does not necessarily have to include the "institution" of the publisher. The draft will provide up-to-date regulation of state and institutional obligations to provide information, for requesting corrections, and for civil rights related to information; distribution will be "free" and, in general, anything will be allowed that is not counter to legal provisions. The law would become effective after the new constitution but the right to privately start a paper, for instance, may go into effect already this year.

Dr Laszlo Solyom considers the integral combination of the press laws and the 2-year-old "misunderstood" information bill a fundamental issue. For the basic objective of the draft is to regulate the private sphere's data protection, i.e., to guarantee the publicity of all other data and information. The government recently dealt with the information bill, but with the intention of removing certain institutions from the main regulation regarding public information on data and abolishing the information commission as an independent institution, something strongly opposed by the Glasnost Club.

The participants at yesterday's meeting recommended that a special law should regulate the electronic media. The framers of the bill must also address [the issue of] rights and methods with regard to public information, and it has been said that the MTI [Hungarian News Agency]—using the major western news agencies as a model—should not be a government institution but be completely independent. In the transition period the National Assembly should assume the legal function of being the news agency's "publisher."

Also at official request, the Club discussed the draft of the new constitution at its meeting yesterday as well.

#### **Council of Ministers Information Committee Formed**

25000200a Budapest *MAGYAR NEMZET* in  
Hungarian 29 Mar 89 p 3

[Text] (MTI)—Tuesday the Council of Ministers' Steering Committee for Information Policies was established in the Parliament building. The government created the

Committee as a consulting and advisory body to promote the recent collaboration with mass communication organs, to broaden openness concerning governmental activities. The president of the Committee is State Minister Imre Pozsgay.

Members of the Committee are the director of the Hungarian Telegraph Agency; the editors in chief of *MAGYAR HIRLAP*, *MAGYAR NEMZET*, *NEPSZABADSAG*, and *NEPSZAVA*; the director of the Hungarian Research Institute for Public Opinion; and a government spokesman.

Participants of the initial meeting ratified the Committee's rules of order, and debated the topics potentially within its sphere of activities. In the course of the debate, it was revealed that all involved parties consider it necessary to develop strategic long-range concepts for public information and information policies, as well as the thorough revision of material and technological circumstances that currently have decisive influence over the operation of written and electronic media.

#### **MSZMP Reform Wing Formed in Hajdu-Bihar**

25000199a Budapest *MAGYAR NEMZET* in  
Hungarian 6 Apr 89 p 5

[Text] (OS)—The reform-wing of Hajdu-Bihar county and Debrecen city MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] was formed on 29 March 1989. This alliance wishes to join the grass-root movement within the party which has been increasingly manifested in the creation of reformist circles and clubs in Szeged, Kaposvar, Bekescsaba, Budapest, and Győr.

The platform-theses of the Hajdu-Bihar county and Debrecen city MSZMP's reform wing includes the following points: "The course of Hungarian society during the past four decades has unequivocally demonstrated that the so-called existing socialism, as represented by a Stalinist or post-Stalinist sociopolitical arrangement, is historically unable to make progress and is untenable for the future.

"Simultaneously with rising out of the present crisis, we must base the historical development of Hungarian society on new economic, political and moral foundations. Taking even such matters into consideration as the realities of our East Central European past and present, we must reenter the process of universal and European civilization.

"The MSZMP, or rather the circles that took over the party's leadership, bears primary responsibility for the existing situation. Recognizing this responsibility, the party is morally and politically obliged to promote national interests and social progress.

"At the same time, the MSZMP itself is struggling with internal difficulties and a growing ideological, political and organizational crisis. Operating in a competitive

multiparty system, it will have a chance to become a political organizing force accepted by a large segment of the population only if makes a radical break with its Stalinist past, its antidemocratic organizational character, its discredited functionaries, and becomes a modern political party.

"Based on the above, utilizing the de facto rights provided by the freedom to create political platforms, placing ourselves outside the party's still-extant closed and bureaucratic structure, but neither breaking with it nor opposing it, we created and plan to operate the MSZMP's reform wing in the county and in Debrecen," the announcement forwarded to the National Press Service concludes.

**FIDESZ Opposes World Expo With Austria**  
*25000203b Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 11 Mar 89 p 4*

[Text] (MTI)—A number of FIDESZ [Association of Democratic Youth] groups have forwarded a statement regarding the preparation of the Budapest-Vienna World Exposition to the Hungarian News Agency [MTI]. In it they emphasize, among other things, that the world exposition may create an opportunity for developing our lagging infrastructure and for drawing nearer to countries with a market economy. In spite of this, the FIDESZ expresses the opinion that at the present level of preparation, Hungary cannot commit itself to making the arrangements. It is therefore urging the exposition committee deciding on organizational rights to postpone its decision until December, for the time until the year's end may be enough for more thorough preparation and consideration.

The document states that, as a result of obscure and contradictory calculations, no reliable cost estimate has been made to date and risk factors have not been taken into account. In the opinion of the FIDESZ, an investment of at least 200 to 300 billion forints is needed for the world exposition. This sum constitutes 50 percent of Hungary's annual accumulation fund while for Austria the ratio is only 10 percent.

**Cartels To Play Role in New Price Mechanism**  
*25000200b Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 29 Mar 89 p 3*

[MTI report: "Changing Price Mechanism. Next year: Price and Cartel Bureau"]

[Text] (MTI)—It appears that, perhaps as early as 1990, the present National Bureau of Prices will be transformed into a price and cartel office, and in order to accomplish this, at least some 130-140 currently valid regulations will have to be changed. This was communicated to the press on Tuesday by the Bureau's president, secretary of state Ferenc Viszi. He stated that, as a

preparatory move, already last year they introduced the system of price-consultation among manufacturers and retailers concerning 7-8 percent of consumer goods.

According to the state secretary, today's pricing mechanism is such that prices specifically set by authorities effect scarcely 20 percent of current Hungarian consumer consumption. (This category includes the price of energy, as well as the price of new automobiles.) Certain agricultural goods fall under so-called quasi-official price control, meaning that officially set prices function as protective prices. The pricing authorities' control covers 11-12 percent of produce; Raising their prices, which are otherwise classified as "free," must be announced in advance.

Ferenc Viszi also announced that, if the government fulfills the promises it has made to discontinue its earlier subsidy policies, then the rate of inflation, predicted to be between 10 and 14 percent this year, will remain stable for the coming years. At the same time, it must be taken into permanent consideration that the Hungarian economy's surplus money, about 60-70 billion forints that is not covered by goods, automatically produces an inflation of 8-9 percent. Another inflationary factor is contained in the energetically proposed, and already semi-developed, wage reform.

**Hunger Striker Protests Housing 'Cartel'**  
*25000203c Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 14 Mar 89 p 5*

[Article by "udvardy": "The President of a Small Coop Began Hunger Strike"]

[Text] (From our megye [county] correspondent) Dr. Laszlo Kovacs, Chairman of the Miskolc City Council, is not in an envious position these days. The debates on the less-affluent district, i.e., the "gypsy ghetto," have hardly subsided than he is already, presumably with nationwide publicity again, in the limelight with a newer concern. If yesterday's information is correct, the chairman of the Borsod Megye [county] seat will meet today with the president of a small construction cooperative who began a hunger strike yesterday morning.

Vidor Hanko, president of the Fonix Construction Small Cooperative, claims that a so-called price cartel, consisting of members of the Miskolc council apparatus and executives of large construction enterprises, has been established, and that it obstructs the construction of inexpensive apartments and family houses. The president of the small coop plans to continue his hunger strike until the power of the aforementioned cartel is broken and the Fonix can start the planned construction of 24 apartments in Malyi. He will not eat any food, and drink only a maximum of one liter of water daily, until his goals are reached.

What is the basis for Vidor Hanko's claims? We talked to him yesterday evening by the telephone, and he said that, as executive of the small coop, he learned that house lots were being surveyed in Malyi. As the Fonix had worked out an especially inexpensive technology, he thought that both the council and the customers would jump at their bid. He continuously inquired at the council's construction department to make preparations for the construction.

"They gave me a lot of information," said Vidor Hanko yesterday. "They even invited me to a conference on small apartment construction. I interpreted this as a reassurance for getting on with the work. Our small coop was not idle. We came out with an advertisement last fall and, as our bidding won the customers' approval, our advertised quota of 24 apartments was quickly filled. We bought the materials, drafted the blueprints, and waited for the beginning of construction. But in the past few months I've begun to see that I am merely being led on by the councils. They send me from one official to another, continually postpone the deadlines, but do not give me the license to build. The reason being that the "cartel" has no interest in building these apartments truly inexpensively. Our coop is capable of building apartments at the price of 15,870 or 16,800 forints per square meter. I guarantee this. I will continue the hunger strike until we can begin working."

How did the Miskolc city council get involved in this? Well, some years ago they began to develop the so-called agglomerative lots in Malyi, a settlement on the outskirts of the city. This was initiated partly by the megye council while the Miskolc city council played a role in selling the lots and executing the transactions. The original objective in developing the agglomerative lots was primarily to apportion apartments to claimants in Miskolc. Yesterday I went both to the area and to the megye council's construction department. I was told that Vidor Hanko had been given no reassurance for preparing and beginning the construction, that there is no written document to that effect. The information, which they actually provide to anyone, was intended to aid the construction. The development of the lots is proceeding according to plan, and actually those on the councils would be happiest if this small coop really would build apartments inexpensively. However, the regulations must be observed by everyone.

We will keep our readers informed on the developments of this unusual hunger strike.

#### **Consumer Council Sees No Economic Improvement**

25000203f Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian  
22 Mar 89 p 5

[Text] The fees for public utilities are constantly rising, the public is paying more and more, quality is not getting any better, and the public utility enterprises are slowly becoming incapable of carrying out their tasks. Here,

too, only a true market situation can offer any solution: Services should be provided at a [market] price and consumers should have enough income to pay for the services. This is the summary of the statement made at yesterday's meeting of the experts committee of the Consumers National Council, discussing the situation of public utilities in the presence of the executives of almost all concerned enterprises.

#### **UN Refugee Committee Promises Aid**

25000203e Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in  
Hungarian 22 Mar 89 p 5

[Text] (MTI)—The technical delegation of the UN Refugee Commission, which has been in Hungary since 15 March, visited Hajdu-Bihar Megye on Tuesday. Dr. Pal Viragh, secretary of the party executive committee and chairman of the local coordination committee dealing with refugee affairs, said at the megye [county] council seat that so far 3,821 residence permits have been issued in the megye to refugees arriving from Romania. Twenty-two million forints in aid have been spent on their behalf. So far 2,209 persons have used Debrecen's temporary accommodations. More than 500 children of nursery, kindergarten and grade school age have received assistance.

Omar Vached, chief of UN Refugee Commission's technical service, said that they came to Hungary at the request of the Hungarian government. They were deeply impressed by the consideration and effort with which Hungary is trying to solve the refugees' problems. The refugee commission will continue to count on maintaining the partnership that has been established with Hungary. The head of the delegation said that they would like to help in creating a badly needed infrastructure for Hungary's refugee program.

#### **Environmentalists Demand Referendum, Halt to Dam Construction**

25000200d Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in  
Hungarian 29 Mar 89 p 3

[Text] The environmental protection section of the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Circle of Friends and the Group For a Plebiscite asked us to publish the following letter:

In the name of the movements working on behalf of the Danube River, we protest the facts that those in charge of managing our waters ignore the peaceful voice of environmentalists and question the validity of social control. The director of the National Trust for Hydrological Projects refused permission to a group of experts who wanted to examine the current status of the construction and issue a report on it. Also rejected were plans for certain actions which the organizers wanted to execute during the April 3 excursion to Nagymaros and Zebegeny.



We protest because Miklos Szanto cast doubts on the societal character of the movement opposed to the river barrage, and reserved the right of social control to the Social Committee which has been created, supposedly for this purpose, by the Council of Ministers. We also protest because the site of this construction project, started and continued in an illegal manner, has been declared a closed area.

During the National Assembly session that began on March 8, 36 deputies (with another eight joining them since) called for the immediate cessation of work on the Nagymaros-Visegrad construction, and the conducting of an independent study. A plebiscite, demanded by social movements and opposition parties (and referred to as feasible in a parliamentary speech by Miklos Nemeth, President of the Council of Ministers) can express the genuine will of the residents only if it is properly prepared.

We object to a small group undertaking, on public property, a construction project to which society has not given its consent. We demand that until the May and June sessions of the National Assembly, only that type of work be undertaken which independent social inspectors approve of. We demand an immediate stop to the demolitions and the deepening of the river bed.

#### **Sociologist on Revival of National Emblems**

*25000203d Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian  
14 Mar 89 p 5*

[Interview with social psychologist Gyorgy Csepeli by Gyorgy Voksan: "Should We Be Glad About the Emblem Craze?"; date and place not given]

[Text] In the past days and weeks the number of people wearing the [national] emblem with or without the crown has multiplied. "What is the reason, after all, for people wearing badges, rosettes and emblems?" I asked Dr. Gyorgy Csepeli, social psychologist, instructor at the Lorand Eotvos University.

[Csepeli] Those who wear a symbol, in this case a political symbol, are trying to express their stand for or against something. Wearing the badge itself alludes to the black-and-white view of the world—characteristic of a monolithic power structure—that people continue to hold. That is, they have the need to show the outside world what they approve of or reject.

[NEPSZAVA] I have read that a badge establishes rapport, i.e., it creates a situation for communication to begin with. The badge reveals the opinion of the wearer, so it is easier for me to relate to him.

[Csepeli] This is true under normal conditions but not in the present situation. It was a simple thing when, for instance, the wearing of the double-cross emblem at a time when that was still forbidden, unequivocally

revealed a dislike of the central power structure. Today, on the other hand, though large numbers are wearing our national symbols, they do not exactly know their symbolic meaning.

[NEPSZAVA] Does this mean that the emblems have lost their symbolic value today?

[Csepeli] They have not lost it, the question is only what they symbolize. Young people can see a symbol of rebellion in wearing the Kossuth emblem, and I frequently have found that in their case this is one way of expressing the uncertainty of where they belong. But the old emblem is worn not only to counterbalance an identity complex but also by those who have been wounded, especially those who in the course of history have had their rights and their Magyar identity infringed upon.

[NEPSZAVA] You mentioned that the difference in the emblems does not provide unequivocal information about the wearer even if he has consciously decided on the Kossuth or the royal emblem.

[Csepeli] Yes, because it cannot be said that only those people wear the crowned emblem who believe that the important thing on this holiday is national unity and insistence on a Hungarian national state. Nor is it true that those buying a Kossuth emblem in every instance profess its actual political meaning, i.e., a certain symbol of radical reforms serving democratization. On the basis of the initial data of our survey, I can say that many of those who affirm the crowned emblem side with the people's republic, i.e., the regime, and recognize only the value of antiquity in the symbol. And of the people wearing the Kossuth emblem, not all have an interest in improving or reforming the existing social system.

[NEPSZAVA] Well then, should we be glad about the unfolding emblem craze or not?

[Csepeli] If their disappearance from lapels were compulsory and signified a reversal and prohibition, then it would be better that the emblems stay. On the other hand, if social heterogeneity and the emerging diversity of the institutional system make the wearing of national emblems—which even though they have always existed—unnecessary, then we should be glad.

#### **Smallholders Demand Rehabilitation of Leaders, Moral Restitution**

*25000199b Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian  
29 Mar 89 p 6*

[Text] (OS)—The national board of the Independent Smallholders' Party sent a telegram to Kalman Kulcsar, the Minister of Justice. It was signed by Dr Imre Boross, legal counsel for the Independent Smallholders' Party, and Dezso Futo, first secretary of the Independent Smallholders' Party, both delegates of their party's national board. The text of the telegram follows:

The 260 elected delegates of the Independent Smallholders' Party's Interim National Board, who met in Budapest on March 23, 1989, request the Hungarian government to urgently provide moral redress to the former leaders of the Smallholders' Party (now defunct), who were imprisoned, unjustly harassed and compelled to flee from their homeland. Included among these are Ferenc Nagy, Bela Kovacs, Sandor Kiss and Istvan B. Szabo, whose life-long activities earned them such a moral satisfaction from the nation.

In addition, we also demand moral redress for the entire Hungarian peasantry which was subjected to persecution during the 1950's and 1960's; the hundreds of thousands who were sentenced, interned, and expelled from their homes, as well as those of our innocent fellow Hungarians who were dragged away and who either perished in prisoner-of-war and (even more) forced-labor camps, or are still alive in this country.

We recommend that their memory be immortalized by legislative decree.

#### **MDF on Accepting Responsibility for Holocaust Victims**

25000200c Budapest *MAGYAR NEMZET* in  
Hungarian 29 Mar 89 p 3

[OS report: "Raoul Wallenberg Association: We Must Face the Difficult Process of Purification"]

[Text] The Raoul Wallenberg Association warmly greets the speech made by Jozsef Tornai at the national congress of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]. We were pleased to learn that members of the MDF, realizing their historical responsibility as the organization with the largest membership in this phase of transformation, made the move that has been expected for 45 years.

It is the duty and moral responsibility of the Hungarian nation to accept historical and moral responsibility for the murder of 600,000 Hungarian Jews and an unknown number of Hungarian Gypsies during World War II. We are not talking about asking for forgiveness; after all, the living cannot forgive on behalf of the dead. What became unequivocally clear in 1944 is that the majority of contemporary Hungary refused to see 800,000 individuals as belonging to the nation, even though the latter considered themselves Hungarian, and 564,507 of them learned this at the price of being physically destroyed. Now we must take a historical step by saying that we accept our responsibility; the nation must declare every victim of the Holocaust as its own dead, and memorials must be erected in every Hungarian village and town to preserve their memories.

The universal Hungarian nation should not attempt to use this gesture as a conciliatory one toward Hungarian Jews; rather, it should be considered as an attempt to reconcile with itself. Rather than being an apology

directed to the outside, this action should represent a nation's historical attempt to get to know itself better, to manifest its Europeanness, to purify and improve itself.

The nation should decide whether the democratic basis of this society will be an anachronistic nineteenth-century exclusive nationalism, or a modern national consciousness that accepts its own values and mistakes and openly integrates, but not assimilates, others into its ranks.

It is impossible to make amends for the crime of mass murder. Yet, we must share responsibility for it. It was Hungarians who died heroes' death in the gas chambers of Auschwitz; their "flaming sacrifice" was made on behalf of the Hungarian nation.

In order for all current generations identify with the historical lesson of responsibility, we must face the difficult process of purification. We propose that on 8 May 1989, the anniversary of the end of war in Europe, the highest representative body of the Hungarian nation, the National Assembly, hold a special open session to honor the memory of several thousand of our compatriots who were humiliated, alienated, and murdered.

#### **HVG Describes 1947 Election Fraud**

25000165c Budapest *HETI VILAGGAZDASAG* in  
Hungarian 11 Mar 89

[Article by Katalin Bossanyi: "Party History 1944-1949"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In the elections of November 1945 the largest group of people supported the FKGP [Independent Small Farmers', Agricultural Workers', and Peasants' Party]. For its large victory, 57 percent of the vote, this party could thank the fact that many other political groups of citizens—for example the Freedom Party, the Hungarian Party, the Hungarian Republican Party, and Kossuth Party, and the People's Christian Democratic Party—could not participate in the parliamentary elections. "We want a democratic Hungary that will stand against all kinds of fascism and all dictatorships," the FKGP stated before the 1945 elections, one of whose leaders, Bela Kovacs, was arrested in February 1947 by Soviet military authorities, in spite of the fact that the National Assembly was not willing to suspend his immunity from arrest as a representative.

During the 4-year period of coalition government, three representative bodies served one after another in Hungary. The MKP [Hungarian Communist Party] was able to send the largest number of representatives to two of them: The temporary National Assembly formed without elections and the Parliament of 1945-1947. A heavy shadow was cast over the election victory of the MKP in 1947 by the fact that part of its votes were obtained by fraud. "On the morning of 31 August 1947 several

thousand communists started out on a 'blue-pencil voting expedition' in Budapest and in the countryside, to 'correct' elections results in the party's favor. They cast their legal votes in their own districts, then one after another in the most varied places they voted illegally in many election districts. In Marosa, Social Democrats armed with blue pencils did the same thing," writes Zoltan Vas, a leader of the MKP at the time, in his memoirs.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### Retired Security Official on Kosovo Issues

28000095 Belgrade *ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA* in  
Serbo-Croatian 17 Jan 89 pp 26-27

[Interview with Dr Obren Djordjevic, former head of Serbian State Security Service, on 5 Jan 1989 by Momcilo Petrovic; place not given]

[Text] Reporting from the Kosovo LCY Provincial Committee meeting, held in Pristina on 7 January, all public newspapers carried the story—under "miscellaneous news"—that Azem Vlasi had complained of statements which he said had recently appeared in *POLITIKA*, *ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA*, and on a broadcast of TV Belgrade.

"People from the provincial leadership, including myself, were mentioned as being organizers of the November gatherings. This is total misinformation and a lie, and those who promulgate these lies have been regularly campaigning against a few comrades in the provincial leadership. For this reason, I propose that the Provincial Committee—or its Presidency—come out and take a clear stand as soon as possible regarding these fabrications," said Vlasi." This statement appeared in the Pristina newspaper *JEDINSTVO*, on 9 January.

By coincidence, two days before the Kosovo plenum was held, we spoke with Dr Obren Djordjevic, head of the State Security Service [SSS] of Serbia from 1978 to the middle of 1985, and the author of many books on security and social self-defense, including "Leksikon bezbednosti" [Lexicon of Security], the first and only book of its kind in Yugoslavia. Respecting his obligation to keep quiet about many things, we worded the first question in the following way:

[*ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA*] As an operative of the SSS for many years, and its head during the critical Kosovo period, what assumptions can you make about the organization of the demonstrations of Albanians in Kosovo in November of last year? Is it possible that the Kosovo SSS did not know, and had not known, what preparations were being made and who the organizers were?

### Were They Surprised?

[Djordjevic] I don't need any kind of experience to see that there were organizers in sociopolitical forums in these demonstrations. Simple logic is enough. Look, it is possible that a single work organization, a single village might start to move together. However, just like that, at a precisely determined time, all of Kosovo marched in step, and at a time when they were trying to replace Azem Vlasi and Kacusa Jasara—only a blind man could not see what was going on! One can't look at the Kosovo SSS apart from the total societal situation, and it will probably announce its findings, but I understand their caution, their reluctance to publish names. Because after they make their report the courts will go to work. And I was always reluctant to call someone a criminal until I was absolutely certain. But it is obvious what is going on here. If so, it is best to confirm any change with the head of the Kosovo SSS and the head of the Analytic Bureau (brother of Azem Vlasi) which appraises, evaluates, and interprets the data which has been gathered, the total production of the Kosovo SSS.

[*ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA*] Is it possible that the Kosovo SSS was caught by surprise by the November events?

[Djordjevic] If they were doing their job at all, the answer is no! Their findings would not have to be specific—they can say, "at such and such a time this and that happened"—but they have to have had some sort of indication of what was going on. This is obligatory.

[*ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA*] And could the Serbian SSS have been taken by surprise?

[Djordjevic] Divisions in society have also been fully reflected in the service. I'll give you an example. Several years ago when we wanted to take action against one of our neighbors from Kosovo, we had to request approval from the provincial SSS. They did not give us permission, and we gave it up. There are a number of similar examples. It's hard to say the Serbian agency didn't know anything, after all, it is the service.

### We Knew, but...

[*ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA*] The Kosovo State Security Service did not utter a sound even right before the 1981 demonstrations. And neither did the Serbian SSS, of which you were the head.

[Djordjevic] Our comrades in Kosovo did not turn to us at that time, and without their approval we could not do anything. Nevertheless, we had "friends," and on the eve of the demonstrations we possessed certain information.

[*ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA*] During the investigation of the causes of the counterrevolution in Kosovo in 1981, did proof of involvement of foreign security agencies appear?

[Djordjevic] Any foreign agencies! The Kosovo situation is a product of nationalist euphoria which has taken hold of Albanians in Kosovo and the activity of a political leadership which has poisoned people with nationalism and separatism.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] It is not hard to draw the conclusion that all of our services have "friends" in all parts of the country?

[Djordjevic] That's not true. By law republics and provinces are bearers of specific duties in the area of security, and as far as collaboration is concerned, they are directed to come to agreement. Remember the case of the Armenian terrorists who killed the Turkish ambassador in Belgrade? One set off for Vojvodina, and members of our service were stopped at the Vojvodina border and had to request permission to continue the pursuit.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] Although you were able to assume that there would be demonstrations in Kosovo in 1981, nothing useful came out of these findings.

[Djordjevic] I passed on everything I knew.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] To whom?

[Djordjevic] You know, to the leadership of the Federal Republic of Serbia. What they did with the information I don't know. That type of information goes under special management. There are documents concerning this in the service. Politicians make the decisions. However, you must know that neither in Kosovo nor anywhere in the country are you allowed to fool around with officials. You are not allowed to gather data on individuals who are part of the governmental or political apparatus. This is according to law.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] Which law is that?

[Djordjevic] It is unwritten. It has been in effect since the Brioni plenum and continues to the present time.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] If politicians do not have dossiers in the service, how is it possible that almost immediately after they are dismissed all of their sins become public knowledge?

[Djordjevic] Dossiers are easily put together.

#### Why Politicians Are in Charge

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] According to everything you have said, it follows that the State Security Service does its job well, but that it falls within the function of politics.

[Djordjevic] Correct.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] Is the reason for this relationship also due to the fact that the only people who get the position of provincial, republic, and federal ministers of internal affairs are politicians?

[Djordjevic] They have to be politicians, but they do not affect the professional work of the service, they do not know every detail, but they do know how to assess what is bad and what is not. They are not "burdened" by the professionalism of the policeman. They have undersecretaries who are responsible for the work of their services. It is apparent what the service needs and how to make it work and they know who makes it work. I am a policeman and I would think like a policeman no matter I did; but this is not good for jobs which are not in this area of expertise.

#### Who Has a Dossier in the SSS

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] Since it is apparent that the "unwritten law" only effects a limited number of people, and, it would appear, only for a certain time, what status do ordinary people have? Who has a dossier in the SSS?

[Djordjevic] Only those who have committed a crime which endangers constitutional order, or who it is suspected might do this type of thing.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] What all does such a dossier contain?

[Djordjevic] The usual information, similar to a court dossier, but obtained in a specific manner.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] Biography, various documents, and something more?

[Djordjevic] That's pretty close.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] And how many citizens of the SFRY are included in this form of recordkeeping?

[Djordjevic] Less than one percent, I think. This dossier is kept for life for those individuals who have been sentenced by verdict of the court, and then the documents are stored in the Historical Archives.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] Are the oldest ones are still inaccessible to the public?

[Djordjevic] That is the law, but I think that at least a few will become accessible. The majority of the files which are now being kept are obsolete, they refer to Chetnick accomplices and the like. This is not important now.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] By "special means of gathering information," the public most often thinks of tapping telephones, opening letters, and spying.



[Djordjevic] The inviolability of the secret contents of letters and of other means of communication is regulated by the Constitution and by laws (an article about this appeared in the last issue of ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA—M.P.). The decision to tap a phone and to open mail is made exclusively by provincial or republic secretaries for internal affairs.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] How many cases like this are there a year?

[Djordjevic] While I was head of the SSS of the Federal Republic of Serbia there were not more than a few dozen a year. There are a number of difficulties involved with all of this—tapping a telephone requires a large number of people and money which the SSS does not have, nor does it need it.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] Is it possible for a citizen to tell that his telephone is being tapped in this manner?

[Djordjevic] Not at all. The most modern technology is involved.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] A letter is opened and read; is it again sealed?

[Djordjevic] Of course. But keep in mind that this is really a specific technique. The basic way to gather information is through conversation.

#### Are There 'High-Risk Groups'?

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] What is an information-gathering conversation like? You invite a citizen, or you come to him and explain to him in what you are interested? Can he refuse to answer a question?

[Djordjevic] We explain to the party that it is in the interest of the person under suspicion to give us the facts we are after. If a person is innocent, why wouldn't he help to remove doubt about himself? Of course, he has the full right to say: "I do not want to answer your question." And this will not lead to any consequences. You would be amazed at how many so-called normal people help us.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] And intellectuals?

[Djordjevic] Naturally, everything depends on the individual, but in my estimation they cooperate well.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] In your opinion, which segments of the population represent, so to speak, "high-risk groups?"

[Djordjevic] As is the case with every state, Yugoslavia has its friends and those who are not its friends. In our country there are no so-called high-risk groups. Interesting to the SSS are those who are connected with hostile emigration, foreign intelligence services...and all others who are in position, or can get into position, to threaten order in the country.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] What sort of status do journalists have?

[Djordjevic] By law, some form of verification is required before taking a position with public newspapers.

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] Does this mean that every journalist has been "checked-out" by your service?"

[Djordjevic] Yes. However, it is very rare that we have decided to give someone a negative opinion. On many occasions we have thought that it would better to give someone a chance. Moreover, a journalist is under the supervision of the public itself.

It was exceptionally interesting to speak with Dr Obren Djordjevic. What he was able to say was only an fraction of what he knows. Now he is writing a book on postwar traitors. Finally, we asked, in passing:

[ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA] What do you think about the case of Djordj Martinovic?

[Djordjevic] The case was within the jurisdiction of federal, republic, and provincial service. I personally think, as do all my comrades, that the possibility of self-injury is out of the question.

So much for the news.

Dr Obren Djordjevic is one of those initiating the formation of a commission to supervise SSS operations. Articles in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA will tell about this in more detail.

#### POLAND

##### Historian Discusses Stalinism, Party, Areas for Revision

26000378 Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish  
No 8, 24 Feb 89 pp 12-13

[Interview with Dr Jerzy Topolski, historian; member, Polish Academy of Sciences; director, Institute of History, Adam Mickiewicz University; and member, PZPR Central Committee Commission To Clarify Social Conflicts in the History of the Polish People's Republic, by Zygmunt Rola: "Facts and Relationships"; date and place not given; first paragraph is PERSPEKTYWY introduction]

[Text] Stalinism has been a topic of discussion and of conflicting judgments for a long time. A good deal has already been written about it, both scientific papers

(largely in the West) and articles in the press, but there is still not a great deal of understanding about the origin of Stalinism. Prof Jerzy Topolski, a historian and cofounder of the PZPR Central Committee's commission to clarify the causes and course of social conflicts concerning People's Poland, thinks that the structures and ways of thinking and acting retained to this day prove the vitality of that system and that it is a mistake to reduce criticism of Stalinism to criticizing Stalin.

[PERSPEKTYWY] The personality cult and its consequences helped Polish society hold on to its historical resentment and complexes. Do you remember that sentence?

[Topolski] That comes from the "Kubiak Report." Everyone knows that this is a joint effort, a compromise. You could call it a testimony to the time when the PZPR Central Committee commission wrote its report. I was a member of that commission, but one of its most important conclusions was contained in the statement that social crises are largely the consequence of deformities in the exercise of power.

[PERSPEKTYWY] Would you still hold that view today?

[Topolski] It seems exceptionally weak, and our position on the personality cult and the Polish consequences of it seems incomplete. It looks as though we barely skimmed the surface of the subject. But, on the other hand, at that time Stalinism never really surfaced in our discussions as a major problem. It was always the background of other issues. It appeared more striking when we considered the concrete Polish interpretations of Stalinism as actually a source of the distortion of power in our country.

[PERSPEKTYWY] In GAZET POZNANSKA you recently said simply that in the Tenth Party Plenum's hypotheses the statement about "eliminating the remnants of Stalinism" implies that it has been basically overcome. You expressed a different view on this matter.

[Topolski] Yes, I think that Stalinism does more than merely open up the possibility of the abuse of power, which appeared and developed in the Soviet Union in an especially drastic form (although it sometimes also ran a dramatic course in Poland too). Stalinism is above all a definite way of thinking and operating, one that we can still see today. It is true that people talk (and write in documents) about overcoming this deeply rooted phenomenon, about reforms in the party and in the structures of state power. First of all, though, this does not mean that the structures of thinking and acting lodged in the social mentality of people who determine the directions and depths to which the reforms go have been overcome. And Stalinism is seated most deeply just there, in people's minds. Second, it does not mean that today's attempts will work. If we look at this problem from a practical, pragmatic point of view, this order of things turns out to be the most essential in evaluating the

sense of the whole enterprise we call "overcoming Stalinism." That is the very reason we can't talk about the vestiges of Stalinism, the "remnants."

[PERSPEKTYWY] Do you think that everything has been entirely brought to light in our efforts? That we all realize the causes underlying our own behavior and the sources of the models we replicate?

[Topolski] No. Of course, there are whole layers in the unconscious shaped by decades of thinking and acting. Have you ever happened to watch people who could have made a decision but thought they needed to "consult" someone above them in the official hierarchy? After all, this is one of the examples of an extremely vertical power structure.

[PERSPEKTYWY] How would you describe the origins of Stalinism?

[Topolski] We can no longer deal with history in a nondialectical way, or with the pre-Stalinist period solely as a string of successes, after which, *deus ex machina*, there followed a Stalinist period full of deformities and deviations. We must look to an earlier period to find the origins of Stalinism. We mustn't treat Lenin as an almost holy individual or the period of his leadership as an era of all goodness and wisdom. It is worth recalling Rosa Luxemburg's work entitled "On the Russian Revolution," written in prison in 1918. It was received with exceptional reluctance, probably because the author made very long-range predictions concerning the development of the situation which later proved to be right and because she also issued warnings. Among other things, she said that virtue should not be practiced out of some historical necessity, for example, out of a need for hard dealings with a political adversary during the first period of the revolution, an element of the system and also the only possible one. Rosa Luxemburg accused the Bolsheviks of destroying the parliamentary system, of unnecessary terror. She accused the party elite of assuming power and of depriving the masses of influence over the way power was exercised. She also talked about limiting freedom of the press and freedom of association. It is therefore no coincidence that Stalin took a great dislike to Rosa Luxemburg. Her views were labelled with the epithet of "Luxemburgism" and were excluded from the political and ideological stream of Marxism. But it turned out that she was right in many ways. After all, during the last part of his life, Lenin began to realize the various dangers, like the consequences of the party's bureaucratization, but this came too late, and certain processes could no longer be reversed.

[PERSPEKTYWY] Couldn't the NEP, the New Economic Policy, have become one of the elements in a successful battle waged against the dangers of bureaucracy?

[Topolski] It could, but the NEP was not accompanied by a reform in the power structures. I remember how other political parties had been eliminated earlier, how discussion within the party was limited, and how people started using the weapons of revolutionary terror. We were also cut off from the many scholars who went abroad. But in speaking about the origins of Stalinism, we must not overlook atheism. Religion was treated as a temporary phenomenon, and it was the struggle against religion (waged by old Bolsheviks, and also by Lenin) which was responsible for atheism's becoming an element in the ideological struggle, or, to put it in broader terms, an element in the program of action. Today, religion is treated as something outside the regime, a cultural attribute of a person. Marek Fritzhand recently wrote about this in *NOWE DROGI*, asking whether atheism was an essential feature of Marxism. The cult of Lenin and then Stalin began to take the place of religion in the Soviet Union. The aura created around these people quickly took on characteristics of the sacred, but shifting religious cult to secular things, unfortunately, leads to the disappearance of criticism in society. Because religion, or faith, contains no elements of criticism, all the actions of persons enveloped by a cult not only are accepted uncritically but are also absolved. Given the absence of any parliamentary traditions, making the leaders and the party itself sacred became an important element in suppressing facts from consciousness.

[PERSPEKTYWY] Was Stalinism inevitable in Poland?

[Topolski] I think that it was unavoidable in such a historical context. It was deeply rooted in members of the Communist Party of Poland, who could not accept criticism of events in the Soviet Union or criticism of the great judicial processes in this country during the 1930's. Given this background, there could be no agreement between the KPP and the PPS, the Polish Socialist Party. Later, during the international conferences ending World War II, Poland was put into the camp of socialist countries, that is, the sphere of domination of the Soviet Union, where Stalinism took shape. After the USSR entered the coalition against the Nazis, Stalin didn't have any clear notion yet as to how Poland would be governed in the future. The issue was not decided until after the defeat of Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, after the collapse of the Polish Peasant Party's idea of the "finlandization" of Poland, a notion which had previously had some chance of success. It is true that Wladislaw Gomulka's ideas came into being, as well as those of the PPS, but those of the PPS had no such chance of succeeding. The amalgamation of the two workers' parties, the PPR and the PPS, however desirable, was also a factor and tool of Stalinization.

[PERSPEKTYWY] In your view, we are more anxious to get things settled in the Soviet Union than in our own country...

[Topolski] Yes, if you follow the press, you will see that articles on the crimes of Stalin and his system are often reprinted from the Soviet press. This is a surrogate maneuver. People in our country don't write often or boldly enough about people in Poland responsible for the wrongs committed during that period. It is only in the resolution of the Tenth Party Plenum that there is any talk about recognizing the necessity of political and moral satisfaction for all victims of Stalinist repression and about the fact that the Politburo has become obligated to take appropriate initiative and action.

[PERSPEKTYWY] Professor, what do you think needs exact clarification?

[Topolski] We have to take an objective look at the figures of Boleslaw Bierut, Hilary Minc (or "Mirek"), and other activists of that period. We need to break the silence over the results of trials against functionaries of the Ministry of Public Security, about the effects of censorship at that time. We should rewrite the history of People's Poland. This would of course not be to put into official circulation works in which this whole period is reduced to presenting one crisis after another. A new edition of the modern history of Poland is needed, because we have to take into account new sources of information which should be included in the flow of history. A new history of People's Poland written this way should not be any sort of taboo, in terms of either people or the PZPR. I can't imagine retaining the blank spots, which after all exist. Among them are the history of the PSL, the Polish Peasant Party, and the peasant movement in general during the post-war period, the history of the PPS and these political parties' concepts, and the issue of the 1946 referendum and the 1947 Sejm elections. For example, shouldn't we use sociological and psychological analysis to answer the question of why Edward Gierek received a vote of confidence at the beginning of 1980, and then had to leave half a year later under a cloud of political scandal? It is no less important to explain and describe the power mechanisms, that is, the causes, course, and judicial effects of political trials which have after all taken place in Poland. We have to finally tell how it really was. But alongside the historical plane, it is also important to study the political plane, the structuring of that form of political life in which phenomena of that type would be impossible. I would see here the problem of having many parties, which is related to political pluralism, because the thing is that the ruling party has to convince the other participants in political life that its program is correct.

[PERSPEKTYWY] In the above-mentioned report of the commission of the PZPR Central Committee, I found a few euphemisms in the assessment of Stalinism and of the attempts to overcome it: The Politburo and Secretariat "did not break with the non-Leninist understanding of the ways to build socialism." In another place: "group interests dictated by the desire to avoid responsibility for mistakes and distortions were also visible." In *NOWE DROGI* Stanislaw Rainko came to

the following conclusion: "these famous formulas, such as the personality cult or the period of errors and distortions, are like so much sand in people's eyes, intended to obscure more than they reveal."

[Topolski] To give an answer to the question of the origin, course, and consequences of Stalinism, the report starts during the period of the governments of Nikita Khrushchev. This is just when they began pouring sand into our eyes, talking about the need to overcome the personality cult and bring the period of errors and distortions to a close, but this stage of accountability soon came to an end. In Poland too, after all, there was a prohibition against openly dealing with that period. What is more, Gomulka ordered a curtain of silence to be drawn even over the 1956 Poznan demonstrations. A struggle began over what was called "revisionism," closing people's mouths. It was not until Mikhail Gorbachev that the next stage of filling the blank spots in the history of the 1930's, 1940's, and 1950's began.

[PERSPEKTYWY] This chronology probably does not apply to Poland.

[Topolski] The cumulating crises were responsible for the development of a political opposition in our country and the appearance of the social movement called "Solidarity," which explicitly includes the element of criticism of Stalinism. In Poland's case, the election of Gorbachev as secretary general of the CPSU proved therefore to be a factor which stimulated the destalinization process.

[PERSPEKTYWY] Where did these fears come from?

[Topolski] Note if you will that even in the "Kubiak Report" we came to the conclusion: "changes have been made in many areas, but they have been made inconsistently and with too great restraint. Fundamental personnel changes have not been decided, and this includes those at the government echelon. Furthermore, those which were initiated, were not credible enough." My fears stem therefore from an assessment of certain events, as well as from the fact that people who are interested in blocking the second stage of settling things with Stalinism still have a great deal of the say. The whole tragedy began under Gomulka, who either couldn't or wouldn't bring new people into the government and the Politburo. Jozef Cyrankiewicz was after all still premier, and Roman Zambrowski remained a member of the Politburo. Meanwhile, basic cuts are always called for in making a break with systems like Stalinism. Otherwise, people who think in the old terms remain to block the efforts of the forces in favor of reform. This is exactly why people talked more and more about how the PZPR is a conservative force and how its programs couldn't anticipate the influence of other participants in political life. After all, other observers looking to the future realized that many of the slogans and postulates had to be carried out sooner or later.

[PERSPEKTYWY] Talking about the remnants of Stalinism, you mentioned structures, methods of thinking and acting, which are still with us from those days.

[Topolski] Most ominous are those which are so deeply rooted in our ways of thinking. Let us notice the phenomenon of restricting the will even of whole social groups, which under the Stalinist system had to pretend to wait for permission or a decision from the top. Anything which reduces the autonomy of one's own decisions is a hold-over from Stalinism. After all, socialism means the socialization of decisions. Another element of thinking that comes out of the Stalinist period is the constant need for success. This is the very reason why we read so often about success in various institutions' reports. You're bound to remember optimistic assurances ministers have given about how their departments carried out their duties. Everything always worked for them and came out right, and we were always convinced that we would soon be entering another stage of complete success.

[PERSPEKTYWY] We are gathering the very fruit.

[Topolski] But this is also because it is more profitable not to undertake to do something than to assume any risk. Risk has been excluded from our official vocabulary. This fact has even been expressed in the famous saying about personnel who exhibit passivity, fidelity, and mediocrity. This principle is after all with us to this very day, and this is what determines the rate of the implementation of the reform and is responsible for the widespread incidence of actions done all for show, which are simply our national misfortune.

[PERSPEKTYWY] Making the party sacred is associated with this most directly.

[Topolski] Of course, and this phenomenon developed to the greatest extent under Gierek. We haven't dealt with it to this very day, as shown by your questions. You talked after all about "the party" and not about the PZPR, as though there were just one party.

[PERSPEKTYWY] Even today in various PZPR documents you see the word "party" written in capital letters.

[Topolski] Exactly. Other people write the word "God" with a capital letter, but in our country, the word that starts with a capital letter is "Party." Our customs and our public language up to the present time have not eliminated the sacredness of the PZPR or its theatrical elements.

[PERSPEKTYWY] Hearing you talk, I come to the conclusion that you share Stanislaw Rainko's opinion that bureaucratic Stalinism has not yet been explained in Marxist terms.

[Topolski] Exactly, Stalinism has not been explained yet in those terms. Work on this subject has come out in the writings of Italian communists. They contain very valuable analysis of the phenomena we have been discussing. I recently had in my hands a docent habilitation thesis of a Pole living in Poland. Only 60 copies of it had been published, because it contained very severe criticism of Stalinism. We must not treat this phenomenon as a process which has come to an end or reduce it to the actions of an individual. This was simply a misunderstanding.

[PERSPEKTYWY] Are efforts being made in Poland in an organized way to make a full accounting of Stalinism?

[Topolski] No, such research is not being done in our country yet. You can't even say that we are trying to do it. There have not been any subjects like that among the centrally determined research problems. But, after all, for us finally to settle accounts with Stalinism, right up to the end, we need to do more than answer all the questions concerning the facts. We also have to eliminate the strong, cohesive structure of relationships rooted back in that period.

[PERSPEKTYWY] Thank you for the interview.

**Author Comments on Underground Press,  
Writers' Union**

26000438 Warsaw *KONFRONTACJE* in Polish  
No 2, Feb 89 pp 14-15

[Interview with Andrzej Szczypiorski, author and journalist, by Dorota Pienkowska: "Dorota Pienkowska talks with Andrzej Szczypiorski, Writer and Journalist"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [KONFRONTACJE] You had a great worldwide success at the Frankfurt Fair. [passage omitted] On the list of the 10 most important works drawn up by critics, "Mass for the City of Arras" was assigned fourth place as the most outstanding of the novels among all the works honored. [passage omitted] The appearance of your work "Die Schone Frau Seidenman," first published in Polish as "Początek" [Beginning], which is on the bestseller list in the German-language region is also an unprecedented event. [passage omitted]

[KONFRONTACJE] But this is not the only export position among your works. Can you describe for Polish readers the fate of your other, recently finished works?

[Szczypiorski] During the Solidarity period a British publisher asked me to write a history of People's Poland. I wrote back that I am not an historian. They then asked for essays based on my biography. I did meet this request. The book, "The Polish Ordeal," appeared in London while I was interned.

Immediately after being released from internment under the influence of a certain internal need, I wrote and published in the second circulation a work, "From A Martial Law Notebook." It was continued by a second volume titled "From A Notebook on the State of Things," and both works will soon appear under this title in the near future in German, French, and English. In addition to the previously mentioned titles, [passage deleted from original text and replaced with notation: Law of 31 July 1981, "On the Control of Publications and Performances," Art 2 Point 6, *DZIENNIK USTAW* No 20, item 99, amended in 1983, *DZIENNIK USTAW* No 44, item 204] will appear in a collection of short stores titled "American Whiskey."

[KONFRONTACJE] Permit me to interject a question at this point: what is your attitude toward the operation of the three publishing systems in Poland: official, emigre, and unofficial, the so-called second circulation?

[Szczypiorski] It is an unbelievably beneficial phenomenon for Polish culture, which is basically pluralistic. The objections that writers "caused literature to emigrate" testifies to an absurd vision of the world, to our provincialism. It would be unthinkable to make this type of objection, for example, in France or England. Who cares if French writers publish in the United States or Americans in France. The implication has always been that the Polish state authorities fear losing their monopoly of control. All other arguments are demagoguery. The second circulation has been distorted by, saturated with, an aura of agitation, a result of the political situation in Poland. But there is no doubt, however, that the existence of the other publishing systems forces the official one to be more efficient, injecting greater liberality into the publishing market. [passage omitted]

[KONFRONTACJE] In "Beginning," you present a new view of the question of Polish-Jewish-German relations without the tendentious baggage, complexes, or inhibitions, which are so much ours, a view that all sides of this "triangle" can consider decent.

[Szczypiorski] In this book I do not want to justify anyone, absolve anyone. The strength of the work depends on my breaking down stereotypes, while remaining true to history. What happened happened. There were morally worthy Poles, who created a network to save poor Mrs Seidenman and there were corrupt Poles. There were also Jews who sold Jews into the hands of the Gestapo and there were assimilated Germans, who saved Jews and Poles.

Perhaps one of the elements of success of "Beginning" is that at least part of the educated public in the West recognized the story as a type of anti-"Shoah." Lanzman in his 10-hour film shows Poles as unbelievably primitive people—there is not a single intelligent Pole in his film. If one is to talk about such an important problem



for Poles as the genocide of Jews, although selection is unavoidable, one must make a relatively just selection. Lanzman did not make a just selection, and I am critical of him on this point.

On the other hand, in connection with discussions of his film, Polish provincialism, in the public judgments of Lanzman, again came to light, as if on account of one film the national honor of Poles were to suffer. In my opinion, this is silly.

For me, "Beginning" is a continuation of "Mass." I only write one book which is a defense speech for tolerance. Everything is about this. I speak of the threats to tolerance in man from history, from totalitarian regimes. I write about people trapped in the mechanisms of history and take the position that man is sometimes better than his actions. The breaking down of stereotypes serves one fundamental issue: the defense of tolerance.

[KONFRONTACJE] Will the novel "Beginning" appear in Poland?

[Szczypiorski] Recently, I was asked if I would publish the book in the official system. I responded that it is a crucial issue for me. The Western Publishing Institute in Poznan wants to publish the novel in a large printing immediately. I have already had discussions on this question.

[KONFRONTACJE] Worldwide success is not a common event for representatives of Polish society. [passage omitted]

[KONFRONTACJE] And what about jealousy?

[Szczypiorski] Certainly there is some. [passage omitted]

I heard a funny thing. I was accused of separating myself from my group, in other words, my public actions were treated not as an internal need, but as a opportunistic attempt to help my career. Such accusations directed at me must please the authorities, but they are completely false. The new situation associated with my books caused me to be out of Poland for many months. I did not separate myself, nor will I; that would not be me. Such opinions are an attempt at revenge, a well-known little, Polish hell. It is a type of parochialism, provincialism, or set of complexes. The greatness of Gombrowicz lies in the fact that, among other things, he, for his entire life, devoted himself to struggling with the Polish "mask," with the Polish "foolishness." Mrozek and Konwicki are doing the same thing to no small degree.

[KONFRONTACJE] You mentioned the need for tolerance. There is a question associated with it that I would like to take up. What is your attitude toward the sharp polarization in the literary community, which has become so apparent in recent years?

[Szczypiorski] There has always been polarization in the community. Writers are very special people. Each carries within himself a view of the world; each has his own individual views. In Poland, there has been a tendency to institutionalize and to categorize all human activities deriving from the conception of collective civilization. There used to be the Polish Writers' Union in which there always was a polarization of attitudes and views, moderated by so-called good social manners. The crisis in the structure, which was the Polish Writers' Union, began after 1956, intensified in 1968, and became obvious after 1980. A chapter ended; the so-called leading role of the party exhausted itself in the literary community.

Martial law created a completely new situation. This is not a matter of political attitudes. During this period, the collegial manners of the community collapsed. If I am behind a wire fence, and my colleague gives an interview and says that it is good, then it is no longer a political question, but one of collegial manners. This is the first cause of polarization.

There is a second cause. The essence of the writer's ethos in Europe is that a writer must stand up for the weaker. Great European literature teaches us this, and it derives from the Christian tradition of European culture. In a situation in which the writer finds himself on the side of the stronger, because his political views put him on this side (and I respect the political views of everyone), the obligation of the writer is to be silent. He cannot issue cries of triumph, because that betrays the writer's ethos.

As I have already said, I am a supporter of tolerance, peace, and moderation. I am an opponent to calls to the sorcerer. One cannot demean or humiliate people, whom you do not allow to defend themselves.

Good manners in the literary community were trampled. Polarization exists and will exist. It is not political in nature.

### **Polish-Soviet Youth Exchange on Political, Historical Issues**

26000377 Warsaw ITD in Polish  
No 9, 26 Feb 89 pp 2-3

[Article by Pawel Tomczyk: "Correspondence From the USSR: An End to 'New Talk.' What Is Allowed in Your Country Now?"]

[Text] "Do any of the Poles sitting here in this room doubt that the NKVD did it?" Alosa unexpectedly asks to test the level of our awareness. "And what about the Russians sitting here?" ... No raised hands. This is how the discussion about Katyn started. Then the Russians wanted to know why the Poles speak the truth just about this one issue, seeming somehow to forget about Starobelsk, Ostashkovo, and Kozelsk.

"Katyn is uppermost in our minds as a place of execution."

"But, after all, not all the officers were murdered there. The internees from two camps were probably drowned in the White Sea."

The Russians think the joint historical commission on "blank spots" has the greatest chance of finding proof of this very crime. Because of the notoriety of Katyn now, documents in the archives concerning this issue could have been "not retained." Then in the corridor during a cigarette break one of the Russians criticises Gorbachev, saying that during his visit more could have been said about the common history.

The seminar on "Soviet-Polish Relations: History, Modern Times, the Future" was held 12-18 January in Rostov Velky, 200 kilometers northeast of Moscow in the direction of Archangelsk. The people attending the seminar were formally divided into two groups: history and modern times (the age of perestroika). In the Polish group another section on trade independently split off. This fact might have come as a surprise, inasmuch as delegates were sent by the four youth organizations (ZSMP, ZHP, ZMW, and ZSP), not Minister Wilczek. Nonetheless this certainly was the cause of some consternation for ...

Young people on the Soviet side, because, although young, they are specialists and—we can probably risk saying it—enthusiasts of problematics (and most of them are quite familiar with their guests' language, some even knowing the language very well). The Polish side sent a pretty random group to participate in the discussion. They might have been invited willy-nilly on the street. With the exception of a Polish doctoral student from Kiev, there was only one historian among them. Given this glaring imbalance in intellectual strength, the fact that the discussions took place at all and were moreover even interesting and difficult could mark them as a considerable success. On the other hand, though, the difference in the scale of reference was some handicap. Just about every Pole can say a good deal about Russia or the Soviet Union, having had some sort of relationship to the major power next door, it is easy among Soviet citizens to find people who have never in all their lives heard about their neighbors west of the Bug River, although they are certain to know where China and the United States are and what they are doing.

Naturally the discussion in the history section focused more on the level of awareness than on scientific points. Perhaps it was better that way, although here too some activists in the Polish delegation demonstrated classical "newspeak" and undoubted equivocation. For example, during the opening address the group leader indicated that the only progressive (that is, pro-Soviet) force in the Second Republic was the KPP and that during the 1950's, when Stalinism dominated the USSR, we in Poland were grappling with "Bierutism." You had to

recognize that even the Russians were horrified listening to this, although according to research brought up in the "perestroika" section's discussion, only 24 percent of Soviet citizens through age 30 believe in reconstruction, while 56 percent have grave doubts. Despite this, 30 percent think that Stalin's activities had nothing in common with socialism.

Sociological research and ongoing observation both show that the people who are the most actively involved in the reconstruction and the most optimistic about it are those people whose youth came during the "thaw" after 1956. Young people who grew up during what is called the "period of stagnation" do not exhibit too much energy, and they are sceptical about what is going on around them.

But not to the extent that they would not try to discuss things, because of curiosity.

"Why aren't there any representatives of informal groups among the Poles?" A conversation begins on socio-etymological subjects. Here everything that goes on outside Komsomol or even on the fringes of it is "informal." The unification of society, which has been going on for years, and the strong, long-term attempts to capture minds have left their mark:

"Why isn't the Orthodox Church prepared to work with young people?" "Where are the religion teachers?" "After all, now you can ..."

One of the seminar attendees is a fourth-year student from the theological academy in Zagorsk, Father Konstantin. (What a historic event! This is the first time an event organized by Komsomol has an Orthodox cleric invited). He explains calmly:

"'New thinking' is still not new law. Who can ensure that there will not be a change in policy tomorrow or next week, so that nobody will be hearing about Gorbachev anymore, let alone about openness or reconstruction..."

Help comes from one of the Poles:

"In our country 'perestroika' happens every few years, and it always ends up more or less the same way..."

A joke is a joke, but you can sense a little reserve during the discussion, even though officially there are no taboo topics. There are indeed no taboos in the wings.

Larisa from Minsk does not know Rosiewicz's song about Gorbachev—few people here do—and she doesn't like it when somebody around here tells jokes about Lenin. About Stalin it's all right. Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov, and Chernenko are not shielded either—there are just not many jokes.

We get back to the historical discussion. The partitions. A problem comes up on the Soviet side as to whether Poland was divided because it was weak or, on the contrary, because the reforms introduced could make it very strong. After all, Turkey, which was equally weak, did not betray its reformers' aspirations, but it was still left alone. "A salaried employee of one of the youth organizations" (he introduced himself), who doubtless matured long ago to be able to talk about relations (unfortunately, not Polish-Soviet relations), brings the issue down to basics:

"If I am strong or have a strong friend, I am not going to be afraid of you."

It was fortunate that on the Polish side the discussion did more than just fluctuate between playing it safe, on the one hand—people showed up just to interject a few words to be counted present and then quickly withdrew from the drawn-out sessions—and microscopic detail, on the other hand. One of our people had the well-known habit of making statements full of naive, insufferable pity, usually beginning with the words: "Because we Poles..." to introduce arguments that seemed to come straight out of Mrozek's plays ("My God, it was liberty they were fighting for..."). The talks often took on a drama of their own, such as when the discourse turned to the opportunities for possible Soviet help in 1939.

"Poland realized that because of the purges the Red Army had practically no commanders."

"But people in the USSR didn't know that."

"In our country the newspapers wrote about it."

"The Polish government was afraid that once the Soviet Army entered Poland it would never leave!"

It is true that at this moment nobody cleared their throat meaningfully, but the moment of silence on both sides in the discussion indicated the undoubtedly monumental awareness that history cannot be separated from contemporary life.

There were also several journalists at the seminar.

"How does censorship operate in your country? Well, in our country there is only military and economic censorship. There isn't any political censorship."

"Reeally! And if somebody wanted to write that the October Revolution was a mistake and should never have happened..."

"Such statements have appeared in print."

The periodical *RODNIK* (Source), which has appeared in Latvia for the past 2 years, with editions of 110,000 copies in Latvian and 30,000 in Russian, published a

drawing in its October issue. A face known to all the proletariat is shown in a painful grimace, because a mousetrap has snapped shut.

"You're allowed that already in your country?"

Smiles.

"That's enough. There's already been a scandal over it. The author absolutely denies that it was Lenin he intended to portray."

We come back into the big hall to talk again. The history section didn't have enough time for further discussion. We had to stop a few years after the war.

**POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup**  
*26000431 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish*  
*No 13, 1 Apr 89 p 2*

[Excerpts]

**National News**

[Passage omitted] The government spokesman, in response to a question about why the authorities are not considering a proposal to end censorship: "Since we think that at least during the transition period, which we are beginning and initiating, censorship plays a beneficial role, makes it possible to defend essential goods and values, such as Polish allies, Polish reasons of state, speaking generally, and those goods that are simply listed in the law on censorship. And although we are now discussing a significant modification of the law on censorship and although, which is more important, the practical operation of censorship for many years, and especially months, has clearly been limited, the existence of such a circuit breaker contributes to the freedom of publications at the present stage of development. Without making the existence of censorship a virtue, we simply think that for now the institution is beneficial."

The presidium of the Council of the Central Union of Peasants' Mutual Aid Cooperatives lodged a protest against one of the agreements of the working subgroups for agriculture of the roundtable. The measure concerns the dissolution of the existing intermediary cooperative structures. "The proposals on changes in cooperatives' structures using a one-time act is a return to the arrogance of authorities rejected by society in the form of arrogance by other forces attempting to 'heal through destruction'," said Franciszek Dabal, chairman of the council. "The liquidation of the intermediate links through a state act would be an unprecedented action and would undermine the credibility of the reform and would violate the principles of democracy."

ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE discusses wages and incomes in the issue for 12 March 1989. The paper prints a table of monthly wages in particular sectors of the socialized economy in 1988 (the levels for 1987 are in parentheses):



the general average was 53,100 zloty (29,200), the monthly average in industry was 61,800 (33,600); in the coal industry 107,500 (61,700); in the power industry, 60,600 (33,600); in the metallurgy industry, 72,600 (40,600); in the electro-machine industry, 57,400 (30,800); in light industry, 49,900 (27,100); in the food industry, 52,600 (27,000); in construction, 57,400 (32,400); in transportation, 53,300 (28,500); in retail trade, 46,800 (24,600) in science and technology, 65,100 (25,400); in culture and fine arts, 45,900 (25,500); in administration and administration of justice, 51,100 (29,800); in the health service and social services, 40,600 (32,400); the lowest wages were in education and training, 37,800 (23,100). [passage omitted]

The minister of education has decided to increase the social stipends of students by 3,500 zloty. This decision will take effect over five months (March-July) and agrees with proposals made by the Polish University Student Association. [passage omitted]

After 10 years of work as the chief director of the Works in Krakow, Dr Eng Eugeniusz Pustowka has resigned. In conjunction with his resignation, the minister of industry in consultation with the workers' council of the steelworks announced a competition for the chief director of the steelworks. [passage omitted]

The General Assembly of the Union of Polish Authors and Composers of the Union of Actors, Composers, and Directors, which has nearly 700 members, elected new officers. Jan Majdrowicz, previously head of the Warsaw section, was elected president. [passage omitted]

Who's Who News. The Sejm named two new ministers. Michal Czarski (age 40, economist, previously director of the Department of Employment and Social Services in the Katowice Voivodship Office, member of the PZPR) is the new minister of labor and social policy. Jerzy Szreter, who headed the ministry for several months is secretary of state. Jozef Oleksy (age 43, doctor of economics, recently first secretary of the Biala Podlaska PZPR Voivodship Committee) is the new minister and member of the Council of Ministers responsible for cooperation with the trade unions.

On 1 April 1989, airfares for international flights will increase by about 25 percent, and for domestic flights, by about 50 percent.

Jozef Kowalczyk, head of the Press Office of the ZSL National Committee [passage omitted] published a correction in TRYBUNA LUDU. "First, I did not state at this press conference that (I quote) 'I have a different view that the rest of the coalition on the issue of access to radio and television, the division of newsprint and distribution of papers.' I did say that our point of view on these issues differs from that of the PZPR. . . . Second, it is not true (and I said nothing of the kind) that the ZSL demands the use of a nomenklatura in hiring

journalists for television. We do propose legal regulations of all the issues associated with the operation of the social means of communication. We have also proposed that the future Sejm law include provision 'on the formation of a Council of the Radio and Television Committee' with authority over personnel and programming. But the membership of this council should, in our opinion, reflect the parliamentary balance of political forces and union movements, while maintaining the absolute majority of the coalition. Third, the question, I quote: 'Why take education and journalistic ability into account [in hiring for television]? Is a ZSL membership card an obstacle?' was not asked at all at the press conference. Why was it included? I get the impression that the printed text is a consciously programmed manipulation."

### On the Left

In elections 2,895 candidates contested for 1,500 places as USSR people's deputies. In 1,114 districts, there were multiple candidates, in some as many as 12; in 384 districts, there was only one candidate. Complete results are to be announced within 10 days. In one-third of the districts the elections produced no results and will be repeated. One of the more controversial candidates, B. Yeltsyn, received 98 percent of the vote.

The CPSU Central Committee held a plenum on agricultural policy. J. Ligachev: kolchozes, sovchozes, cooperative associations, agrocombines, agrofarms, private farms, and citizens' and enterprises' auxiliary farms will have their places. The state will actively help in the creation of individual private farms. All obstacles blocking the development of private auxiliary farms will be removed. It will be possible to lease land for a period of "5 to 50 years, and even longer." It is anticipated that it will be possible to inherit the rights to land.

"Am I a moderate politician? That is," responded J. Ligachev at a press conference, "in any case a mild term. I know that I have been termed a conservative and a reactionary. I think that we are dealing with a misunderstanding of the essential question, and perhaps some would like for there to be no unity among us. Some would like to have Gorbachev fall out with Ligachev and with others, too. I repeat again what I said at the 19th party conference: the position of Ligachev is in every point in accord with the position of the party."

V. Tikhomirov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and a carpenter from Moscow, made several criticisms of Boris Yeltsyn at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, including, among other things, his position on the question of the role of the party and Komsomol, the conception of subordinating the party to the councils of people's deputies, and also forming new youth organizations that would be a counterbalance to the Komsomol.

A commission chosen by the plenum is to analyze the speech by B. Yeltsyn (made during the election campaign) and to present recommendations at the next plenum.

Laszlo Major, spokesman of the MSZMP Central Committee: The MSZMP is prepared to accept a coalition not only after the elections in 1990 but during the earlier period. "The leadership of the party is convinced that the MSZMP will win an absolute or relative majority, in any case it does not expect a catastrophic defeat." [passage omitted]

TRUD, the union daily newspaper, published a letter from eight workers from Novokuznetsk. Some have been deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet at various times. In their letter, they protest against the inappropriate presentation of candidates in the election campaign by the local press; the press prefers the representatives of the intellectuals, and it presents the biographies of the representatives of the working class in an unfavorable light. The letter shows that a sharp struggle is going on prior to the elections.

G.M. Tamas, one of the leaders of the opposition in Hungary and a member of the Union of Free Democrats, a philosopher and political scientist, in the weekly ELETES IRODALOM: "the necessary changes are dictated by the crisis and not by the offensive of the opposition. The communist party even in defense is so strong that it determines the tactics of the opposition. . . .

SCINTEIA, the central party journal in Romania, in unusually strong words, attacked unnamed individuals critical of the Romanian reality. They were accused of slandering and betraying the revolution. Observers have connected the article to a protest by six outstanding politicians. [passage omitted]

### Opinions

*Tadeusz Mazowiecki:*

(Interviewed by Piotr Gabryel i Karol Jackowski, REPORTER March 1989)

[REPORTER] And what about young people? Was Walesa, when he told Miodowicz during the television debate that Solidarity will have different personnel, thinking of the unavoidable, great generational change?

[Mazowiecki] Yes, this area is our great hope, but it is also a great unknown. It includes people who did not grow up during the time of Solidarity, but during the sharp battles of martial law and the sense of futility after its end. This futility weighs very heavily on this generation and causes its radicalism which is pointedly, clearly oriented toward the negative; on the other hand, this generation does not lay out precise proposals oriented toward the positive. This young generation manifested its existence in the strikes in May and August of last year.

A sharp division between young workers and supervisory personnel also appeared at that time. We have our base among the workers; among the supervisors, we have none, whereas during the strike at the shipyards in 1980, there were many supervisors among the strikers. I think that this can be explained by the downward movement of the nomenklatura. This should not be understood literally to mean that every foreman position is filled according to the nomenklatura, but to mean that taking the position is tied to entering a broad system of agreements and dependencies. [passage omitted]

*David Rockefeller, cofounder of the Foundation for the Development of Polish Agriculture:*

(Interviewed by Andrzej Jonas and Slawomir Majman, THE WARSAW VOICE 12 March 1989)

[THE WARSAW VOICE] Do you anticipate the possibility of forming a special international program to rebuild the Polish economy and connecting it closely with the world economic community? . . .

[Rockefeller] I am not sure whether all the Western countries will form one common coordinated program, but in association with the formation of the Common Market in 1992 it is obvious to me that Western Europe desires further tightening of its links not only with Poland, but also with all of the countries of Eastern Europe. The United States will also strive to move closer to Eastern Europe.

If we compare today's situation with that of even a year ago, much less of two or three years ago, there has been significant change, thanks to what is called perestroika and glasnost in the Soviet Union. The course of events in Poland, Hungary, and other countries of the Warsaw Pact is decidedly optimistic.

*Prof Dr Ewa Letowska, Ombudsman for Citizens' Rights:*

(Interviewed by Tomasz J. Musial, WPROST 19 March 1989)

[WPROST] I know that at this moment you are closely watching the militia jails.

[Letowska] After the demonstration organized by the Orange Alternative, a fairly large group of young people were held for 48 hours. Later they complained of the conditions in the jails. I have personally checked out the veracity of these complaints, and they are justified. The sanitary and living conditions in the jails are very bad. In the jail I visited, I saw rats, dirt, etc. But these are not conditions prepared especially for the arrested students. That is how things are every day in these types of institutions, and none of the clients, composed of drunks and arrested thieves, complains about them. Why, the train station in a small town, somewhere in Poland is as bad, and it differs from the station in Switzerland just as the militia jails in Poland differ from the jails in countries better equipped than ours.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Deep Roots of Market Imbalances Debated

24000106b Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech  
22 Feb 89 pp 8-9

[Interview with Eng Miroslav Kraus, Czech Socialist Republic (CSR) Ministry of Industry; Prof Eng Milan Matejka, doctor of science, Prague Economic College; Eng Frantisek Nevaril, candidate for doctor of science, office of the CSSR Government Presidium; Eng Ladislav Sipek, first deputy minister of internal trade and travel for the CSR; and Dr. Oldrich Schwarz, director of the Kotva department store; prepared for publication by Jiri Sekera: "The Deep Roots of Imbalances"; date and place not given; first three paragraphs are HOSPODARSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] We are discussing the domestic market and its disproportions, the sins of planning fetishism, the responsibility of business and production, and the preconditions for a rich and balanced supply of goods.

During the long postwar evolution of our domestic market relatively better years have alternated with periods in which the range of available goods and their quality fell far short of that necessary to satisfy consumers. The severe current problems of supply that are causing so much aggravation should not therefore be considered as an aberration, as something basically unknown to our way of life. Where are we to search for the causes of these gaps that are opening again, and must be closed in nonstandard ways, often only at the price of exceptional tension, intervention by the highest agencies, special imports or obligations to complete additional deliveries of consumer goods? Some causes were noted in a speech by comrade L. Adamec, chairman of the Federal Government, at the 12th CPCZ CC plenum. Comrade Adamec reminded us of a fundamental circumstance in this regard: In a socialist state a situation cannot be tolerated in which consumers are at a disadvantage relative to producers...Clearly the matter of the domestic market has matured to the point of receiving a full hearing in the context of the basic principles of our economic reform.

The above became the topic of a roundtable discussion to which we invited:

Eng Miroslav Kraus, CSR Ministry of Industry;

Prof Eng Milan Matejka, doctor of science, Prague Economic College;

Eng Frantisek Nevaril, candidate for doctor of science, office of the CSSR Government Presidium;

Eng Ladislav Sipek, first deputy minister of internal trade and travel for the CSR;

Dr Oldrich Schwarz, director of the Kotva department store.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY (HN)] We are speaking more and more about "achieving" market balance and about the difficulties in supplying the domestic market. We are living in a kind of permanent tension: citizens have to search for goods, rather than purchase them, retailers obtain consumer goods inventories with great difficulty, the appropriate agencies are on alert. Isn't it time to extricate ourselves for a moment from our daily concerns and do some fundamental rethinking of this abnormal situation? Aren't the deeper reasons for this situation embedded in the priorities of economic development as these are currently defined? Aren't we grappling here, in its most general case, with the results of years of neglecting the market and commerce, the roots of which can be found in the dogmatic and misleading thesis of an absolute and across the board preference for production?

[Sipek] The absolutizing of the production sphere is a historical fact. After all, socialist retailing, which came into evidence in the early 1950's, was at that time referred to as distribution; this was even part of various slogans, on store signs, etc. This means that the role of the retail business was to distribute what was produced by the manufacturers, who received absolute priority. Moreover, there was the well known internal division: the production of consumer goods, as "number two," was the weaker partner of "number one," the production of capital equipment. This of course had wide reaching consequences for the domestic market and domestic retail business.

[HN] What consequences do you have in mind?

[Sipek] For instance, perhaps you remember that a lot of qualified people left retail businesses at that time. We were very happy that hundreds of thousands of housewives came to us to work, but let's be frank, this had its darker sides also. It deformed our consciousness, our perception of retailing and its standing, even within business itself. At the same time a conflict developed between policy and economics: we have countless documents that we ourselves participated in drafting that verbally underestimate the importance of the market. These attitudes, however, also made their way into actual economic processes, structural evolution, and managerial mechanisms.

[Kraus] I am speaking here only for a single production sector, even though more should be represented here in view of the breadth of our topic. If we want to get at the roots of the imbalance of the domestic market, then above all representatives of the planning agencies should have their say. We are after all only producers. Our activities are predetermined by the plan.

If we want to discuss here particular production priorities we have to realize that this priority is far from unambiguous. First of all, as comrade Sipek has already noted, consumer goods production has been neglected as well as domestic business. This has been evident both in the amount of resources allocated to it, its degree of development and modernization, as well as in the fact that the textile, footwear, and leatherworking industries all pay their employees wages that are among the lowest in the national economy. The fate of the consumer goods industry was similar to that of retail trade, because at some point it was decided that we will not build this state on the poverty wages of textile workers! And this has persisted for a long time.

[HN] If this were the case we would have to use earnings from machine production to pay for imports of consumer goods such as textiles, footwear, etc. Actually, though, it is these light industrial sectors that are generating a significant percentage of our foreign currency resources through their exports.

[Kraus] Yes, and this brings up a second point that I want to discuss. It is precisely light industry: above all textiles, footwear, leather, glass, porcelain, that has a high return on assets in exporting. These are readily usable foreign currency resources that heavy industry is not capable of generating. We have, that is, our targets for supplying the domestic market as well as export targets. The export targets, among other things, make it possible to enhance the supply of available goods through imports. And all of this is taking place under highly unfavorable conditions and with obsolete equipment. Only recently has it been recognized that investments also need to be made in the consumer goods industries, and there has been some improvement in this area.

[Matejka] I want to expand on the thought that the situation in which we find ourselves is not a momentary phenomenon. Disproportions between what the people want and what our market supplies are a permanent phenomenon, but the situation is now more blatant than ever before. In my view the disproportions are the inevitable outcome of the fact that our national economy is currently managed according to a number of logical contradictions.

The fundamental paradox: we reject a market economy, the subordination of production to market demands, yet at the same time we want to have a well supplied domestic market and we are demanding that our products be competitive on foreign markets. We cannot change anything until we fully rehabilitate the role of the market, making it functional once again in the Czechoslovak economy. This is primary.

[HN] Could you be more precise?

[Matejka] A market is primarily the concentrated expression of consumer requirements. These consumers are the general public when we are discussing the market for consumer goods. One of you, please, tell me, is there any other kind of market than one to which manufacturers must react? To be sure, we assert that the goal of our production is to satisfy the needs of the general public, but has anyone asked any of you at any time what your needs are? Clearly this is impossible on an individual basis. The market is the location of multilateral dialogs between producers and customers resulting in an optimal compromise between what people want and what manufacturers can produce.

The need to fully rehabilitate the role of the market also applies to the capital equipment market. How can we require that our manufacturers produce competitive goods when they are dependent on allocations of specific, managed materials or components and must be glad when they receive any of them at all? How can our manufacturer compete effectively on world markets when he cannot select and purchase the same production equipment available to western manufacturers? The situation faced by our firms in production inputs also has an adverse impact on the domestic market. Our people also want the modern and high quality goods that they have seen as imports, in foreign catalogs or when travelling abroad. Our manufacturers, however, in most cases do not have an objective opportunity to satisfy these desires, because they cannot obtain the production inputs to make such goods.

The current period is characterized by the internationalization of the forces of production and production relationships. This is evident, among other ways, in links between producers in certain countries with foreign markets. If our producers are not given direct operating access to world markets, the possibility to select and purchase the most appropriate materials, components, and production equipment at the right times for a specific production run, then we cannot expect from them either state of the art products or effective production comparable with leading countries of the world.

I consider the assertion that the state plan has replaced the role of the market to be illogical, because a plan is not an alternative to a market.

[HN] Let's phrase the question another way. In your opinion is the rehabilitation of the market consistent with a planned economy?

[Matejka] Of course. Every plan should have some kind of purpose and sensible goal. The purpose and goal of economic planning should be production for a market. Our central planning has rejected the role of a market, but what has it replaced it with? Numbers, indexes of production growth, in many cases outdated and not requested by anyone. Enterprises are forced to meet production targets for goods, adjusted value added, and other indicators. What they are not required to do is

focus their production on a useful final product. Our prices interact with this perfectly, and this is why we have such an unacceptably high level of inventories.

I don't think this situation will change until we take a good look at what we call the fundamental management mechanism of the national economy, i.e. the state plan. After all, everything is built from the basic element. We have idolized excessively the content and formation techniques of the state plan. The planning agencies and therefore the people in them have by and large avoided any criticism. We need to look at the state plan as at any other product of human efforts. It can be of higher or lower quality, it can also be a reject. One can also judge the builders, in this case the planner, based on the quality of their plan. There must be fundamental changes in our planning.

[HN] Changes are taking place there...

[Matejka] So far these have involved only jurisdictional changes related to the purpose of planning at the central and the enterprise levels. It is also essential to radically increase the quality of the planning process, whether we are talking about strategic or operational planning.

In operational planning we must react more flexibly to market requirements; a slogan of leading world producers these days is superflexibility. We also have to eliminate traditional plan conflicts, both at the level of plans of individual organizations and at the level of parts of plans within a single organization.

In strategic planning we must strive to optimize our allocation of financial resources, to construct new facilities on shorter schedules, coordinate their startup with the time needed to train employees to produce a new product, and to have sales outlets and delivery channels arranged for the product from the moment the facility is complete. A recent analysis of central investment policy discovered, among other things, that we have succeeded in planning and building huge production facilities to which no production has been assigned, and in building entire factories only to find out that there are not enough trained workers in the immediate vicinity to staff the plant. This is a specific, hard complaint as to the sophistication of our state planning.

[Sipek]

The planning techniques we are using truly are very inefficient. Every product in the meantime has evolved, changed many times, but much of what we do, particularly with products in short supply, with imports, etc. is still tied to some kind of an allocation economy and does not reflect the new conditions and assumptions.

[Kraus] Production flexibility is clearly necessary, even essential, but to react to an immediate market requirement, especially if it is of a mass nature, is extremely difficult. At a given level of production flexibility we can bring a product to market in, let's say, six months, if we

are being highly adaptable, if we have the properly modifiable equipment, and if we have the capability to produce rapidly and deliver to market. However, mature producers have reached a point where they can even dictate to the consumer what the consumer will buy. This is the case in electronics, for instance.

[Sipek] This is another type of dictate than the one that exists here. It is an actual, active commercial policy based on adequate supplies, market knowledge, and also on competition.

[Schwarz] It is my view that we do not know a whole lot about these issues and about the practical management system in the West, and that therefore a huge number of illusions have developed. I worked there for 11 years and I can tell you that the situation on the capitalist market does not stem from some kind of ideal solution thought up by some genius on a treadmill, but from a system of eliminating the unsuccessful. This is the foundation of everything. And of course it is connected with competition. If we want to accomplish something, then we have to generate competition so there can be some kind of comparison. In spite of some reservations I have about Slusovice I have to admit that they are always trying something, whether it is good or bad. But the only comment that a whole lot of our directors are capable of making is: Forbid it! Is this the only advice we can offer? Instead we should be saying to them: Listen, folks, why don't you also try something new, try to develop better techniques than those of Slusovice! But that is not our nature. Prohibition, that's the only wisdom we can bring to a new venture.

[Nevaril] This can change only if we make fundamental changes in the entire social and economic environment. For instance, we frequently interpret restructuring in technical terms, what problems new machinery will solve, but we place little emphasis on the point that what it involves more than anything else is the development of entrepreneurship and activity, because without these our market won't feel any changes. We must renew equilibrium. This economy of shortages of goods and services has been around for a frightfully long time now and the worst of it is that we have become somehow accustomed to it. Right now we are knocking out one wedge and replacing it with another, dealing with one element, only to find a whole new series of problems arising. Of course this cannot and does not interest the consumer. The consumer just wants to have goods, and in my view he has a right to expect goods to be available that are of good quality and affordable. The current unfavorable market situation has been caused not only by production and domestic retail trade but also by foreign trade and the center as a result of poor quality planning and management. But I think that the chief villain for the consumer will always be the retail stores. That is where he goes to buy things, and he has no reason to look for reasons for shortages anywhere else. For this reason retail trade has to bear the brunt of correcting the situation, by applying pressure or in other effective ways.



After all, we have almost become accustomed to there always being a whole series of excuses and explanations for a shortage of this or that item. Everyone who produces in a disorganized way, fails to deliver, or delivers poor quality goods, will tell you that they have problems, for instance with subcomponents, that they are short of workers, that they don't have machinery. They lay the blame on others. This may be the case, I'm not denying it, nor am I denying retail trade problems. On the contrary I see both as very serious. But the consumer has the right to go into a store and always to have goods there. That is the main function of a retail business.

[HN] Under our conditions, isn't that a pretty unrealistic demand to make on retail trade employees when we know how weak their position is in relation to production organizations?

[Schwarz] I agree with the above demand. Retail trade is responsible for everything. If we don't base our actions on the premise that retail trade is responsible for everything then we are denying its basic function. We must, however, develop the conditions so that it can assume the responsibility. The fact is that a retailer who complains that it is not his fault, that he can't get important goods, should find himself another job. This denies the basic function of retail sales. A store lives because it can obtain goods that aren't available. We turned this function into distribution, using stores to allocate what someone else gives them. This is, however, ridiculous.

[HN] Comrade director, I won't speak for people who leave Kotva unsatisfied, but there are more than a few of them. I will speak for myself. I run into your store week after week trying to scare up some gray slacks for my ready-made frame, and it seems to me that you never carry my size.

[Schwarz] This concerns not only your personal problem, but the issue of whether you allow the director of Kotva and other department store directors to get away with saying that it is not our fault, its production's fault. You can never allow this to happen. We, however, have allowed producers to get away with this with the entire system of planning, the entire system of management, the entire system of argumentation from the highest levels to the lowest. Until early last year we did not even have the chance to decide whether to purchase something or not. For instance, the bank can interfere in what are sometimes senseless ways. If I listened to the bank and at a time of rapidly growing demand cut back on my purchases because I was exceeding my credit line, then I will seriously jeopardize supply. Unfortunately some retail businesses do this. They fail to react to developing market demand and thus make the situation at the retail level worse than it has to be. In this sense I have to create an opportunity for the businessman, but I can never allow him to get away with saying that all gaps in the market are the responsibility of someone else. And I cannot give him some opportunities today and then tomorrow again forbid everything. This is a question of

five years at least; I have to tell the businessman, then I have to give him the resources. This includes allocating foreign currency resources, because the monopolistic foreign trade organizations deal with us as if the money were theirs. In the end we complete all procurement negotiations for imports with a list that is a deformation of the original requests, because price considerations have come into play and these force you to import not what is the most needed, but what is the least expensive.

[HN] Your partners claim that you don't respect price regulations.

[Schwarz] Not the price regulations, but some pricing criteria used by foreign trade organizations, because in their view what is cheap is good. I think that I should be able to use the resources allocated to me to procure what I as a businessman think is appropriate and saleable. Pricing administration, unfortunately, is run based on the recommendations of a single price consultant of a monopolistic foreign trade enterprise. If we don't break up this monopoly not only in production, but also of imports in foreign trade, we will never get anywhere.

[Nevaril] It looks to me like the decision that faces us must be a wide ranging one; today it is no longer a matter of scaring up a few components. Two conditions must be generally fulfilled. First we must achieve a general congruence between overall supply and demand, i.e. the necessary range of demanded and quality goods on the one hand, and a corresponding regulation of money, pensions, and incomes on the other. Otherwise excess demand will aggravate and increase inflationary pressures. Second, there must be a demonopolization, in both production and retail trade. I don't want to speculate on what forms will develop, but I assume that there will have to coexist with each other some general state retail network, a luxury goods retail network, cooperative outlets, stores that sell on commission or on consignment, perhaps private stores, etc. This is a fundamental requirement in the cities. Let every store fight for a place in the sun and for customer favor. Of course, if there are no goods, then even demonopolization won't do us much good.

Permit me one more comment. From what comrade Schwarz has said about prices and from recent experiences I have the impression that both producers and merchants have too great an interest in increasing profit margins and retail prices. Such a development is easy, to be sure, to unleash, but much more difficult to get under control, particularly if it reaches the levels it has in certain neighboring countries. We certainly don't want this to happen. I am not advocating pricing rigidity, but the fact of the matter is that the easy path, which has cropped up several times in experimental trends—allow us to set prices and leave it to us—is not generally workable. I am thinking of conditions where everyone does what he wants with his customers: production with retail businesses, and businesses with consumers.

[HN] This confirms, though, the economically unequal position of those who are the buyers in the market relationship...

[Kraus] One also has to consider the problems of the other side, however. We recently completed negotiations with the CSR Ministry of Trade on supplier-consumer relationships for 1989. Of the plan that was broken down for us by the planning commission, 96 percent of the tasks have been assured in a structure for which annual contracts have been signed. Retail trade, however, strictly requires 100 percent assurance of a specific range of products before the start of the year in which the deliveries will be made. This makes it impossible for producers to make any sort of operational adjustments should demand change.

[Schwarz] Arbitration takes care of this...

[Kraus] ... and forces the producer to sign annual contracts in the amount of the plan.

[HN] This is clearly based on needs and demand.

[Kraus] Yes, but these are administrative decisions that cannot resolve the product assortment requirements of the market, as long as they are not in line with the production capacities of manufacturers. Nor do they take account of the tasks that face producers in achieving the requisite positive foreign currency balance both for the procurement of essential raw materials, on which the textile, footwear and leatherworking industries are highly dependent, and to provide import resources for other sectors of the national economy which do not generate them themselves and in fact cannot do so. Domestic retail trade is one of these.

[HN] However, we didn't come here to talk about how well or poorly demand is being satisfied at the present time. Rather our task is to explain clearly why an economy that we claim to be highly developed has not so far been able to fill its retail trade network with enough quality goods either domestically manufactured or imported.

[Sipek] The problem of domestic retail trade is common to all socialist countries. It is a systemic matter. We have to keep in mind, then, that we are not resolving something that is specifically Czechoslovak. On the contrary. Although I don't want to say that Czechoslovakia is very well off in this regard, we certainly are among those countries that are well off. For this reason I don't think we want to use this forum to belittle the good things that have been accomplished over the years, to belittle the level that consumption has reached, etc. It wouldn't be fair, clearly, to leave this out of our discussion. Look, last year retail trade turnover increased by more than five percent. If the truth be told, neither practice nor theory is able to provide a good answer as to whether this sort of

growth rate is sustainable for this economy or not. At these levels of personal consumption the market will eventually become tighter and tighter.

[HN] ...And this forces us, among other things, to curtail exports. On the other hand we should be importing more and more, but this isn't possible without exports.

[Sipek] Limiting exports certainly shouldn't be viewed as a permanent measure. I do frankly agree, however, with the internationalization of the domestic market that has been mentioned here. This is clearly the way to improve the situation, to bring innovations to market, etc. I also agree with the opinion that this should not be pursued using current techniques, which allowed domestic retail trade organizations to import goods within certain limits. Under this system imports have fluctuated around nine tenths of one percent of retail trade turnover. We would like to see imported goods make up 20-25 percent of the goods available at domestic retail by the year 2000. I support the idea that we have to diversify the system of obtaining imported goods. This means that our enterprises must have the chance to enter into direct relationships, to decide which foreign firms to contact, either in the West or in socialist countries.

[Kraus] Let me tell you the opportunities I see to reduce the tightness of the market for consumer goods. Clearly the question is not one of whether or not to export. I have already spoken of the necessity to have effective international exchange. It is a matter, rather of changing fundamentally the structure of exports. We have to increase the export capability of our machine industry and export goods that we can produce and export effectively and of which we have enough domestically. That is the first thing. The second is the immediate modernization of the consumer goods industry. We have taken the first steps, and these have resulted in isolated positive contributions to the domestic market. Others are expected in relation to the implementation of the consumer goods industry modernization program that has been approved by the government. This program provides for the procurement of progressive and flexible equipment that will enable us to react to changing market requirements. This equipment will be purchased mainly for the knitting, clothing, and footwear industries. The program will also strive to improve conditions in primary textile production and tanneries, etc.

At the same time we have to take steps to stabilize the work force in the consumer goods industries and return this industry to the importance that it should have within this economy. This implies also spending more time in cadre development. Certain data indicate that our industry receives several times fewer resources for apprentice training than received by other, more preferred sectors. This is one of the causes of the inadequate number of adolescents entering this field and for the low training levels of employees in the consumer industry.

Finally, I agree that it is necessary to increase exports to approximately 25 percent of retail trade turnover. This is the minimum level at which trade should operate. In economically advanced countries imports of finished goods are far higher, because domestic producers in these countries are not capable of producing the full range of goods demanded by the market.

[Nevaril] It is generally acknowledged that there is a great imbalance between domestic and foreign. In many cases production is operating at full capacity. In addition, we have trouble obtaining production inputs, such as raw materials, which are not available in Czechoslovakia. These are difficulties that the world economy does not have. I am convinced that what we need now is a solution that takes us to another, more sophisticated level. We no longer have the luxury of complaining about the missing hundreds of millions in goods and services. This won't solve anything for us. If we want a real solution to the problem we need to be talking in terms of billions and tens of billions. We clearly have to reduce exports of consumer goods, at least for the short term, whether we like it or not, and even if this causes difficulties for trading partners that buy them from us. We have no other choice. This would be considered a sensible step under normal conditions, but unfortunately it is now an essential step, especially when we are talking about exports on credit.

To improve imports we have to make use of the positive trade balances that we have abroad. I am thinking mainly of the relatively good potential for trade with third world countries. It is possible to obtain basically everything from these countries, you just have to be able to trade.

Mainly, however, we have to identify effective and large sources of hard currencies. To speak frankly, the CEMA countries cannot expect for some time yet any large supplementary deliveries of consumer goods; supplies here will remain restricted. This means we have to implement a totally new economic approach to obtaining hard currencies. I believe firmly that one of the ways to do this is to develop an active travel industry.

[Schwarz] Sometimes too many generalizations are made. Such as, for instance the question of whether or not one can buy interesting goods in socialist countries. My opinion is that of course you can. The problem does not lie in whether I can find a lot of interesting items in socialist countries; the problem is that the regulations governing what can and cannot be exported unnecessarily restrict trade. We just made a great purchase in the Soviet Union, but the partner, Moscow GUM, reduced the purchases by a factor of 50 percent. The same is true in the GDR and elsewhere. If we could truly facilitate the flow of goods within the CEMA we could solve many of our problems with the usual assortment of goods right within the CEMA.

[HN] There is a difference in perspective: clearly it is one thing to negotiate deliveries for a department store, even a large one, and another thing entirely to think on the scale of an entire economy.

[Matejka] I like it when retailers assume responsibility for the state of the market, but I also think that they are not capable of solving the problem alone. This is evident even in the goods available at Kotva. and not only in the pants department, about which we spoke a few minutes ago. The main reasons for this state of affairs does not lie with the retailers. If we do not attack the problem systemically, in a principled way, and scientifically, we will end up as we have with all previous reforms. A number of isolated, poorly conceived, and unintegrated pragmatic measures does not improve much at all.

[Schwarz] The science of economics can be judged only based on practical results. To the extent that economists think that life must go on based on the schemes that they dream up, they are off base. They must always return to practice and practice must confirm that what they proposed is accurate. Otherwise it is as if a doctor says that his patients are dying and it is their fault. That is precisely what is going on in economics. I have a maximum level of distrust of economics. I don't believe that one can demand that life conform to economic concepts that may look great theoretically, but which do not work out as well in practice, either in capitalism or in socialism. I have the impression, forgive me, comrade Matejka, that economists are always angry at the real world, and this includes Soviet economists. For instance, they dream up a system that looks good in its abstract form, but then does not work in practice because, take China for example, it causes inflation and a situation that becomes politically intolerable.

[Matejka] The problems of our economy cannot be laid at the feet of its management under scientific guidelines. Our economy has been managed mainly by the directives of bureaucrats at ministries and other central agencies. These directives have frequently been totally subjective, in conflict with the postulates of world economic science. The same has been true in other socialist countries. In our views of the role of economics in contemporary society I clearly disagree completely with comrade Schwarz.

[Sipek] I have been working at the ministry for a long time and unfortunately I must say that we have never been in a situation in which theory, in our case the economic theory of domestic retailing, has provided us far enough ahead of time with a scientific foundation for strategic decisions. The opposite has been the case; the theory has generalized the specific practical steps we have taken. I would also be pleased if the theoreticians would realize that retailers also want to do something about this, that we are working on some things and are involved. Of course there can be differing views on whether the restructuring is going in just the right direction. The point is that restructuring is our option,



our only option, our only chance. Retailing has been forced into the foreground and achieving a basic solution to its problems has become linked to restructuring. We also must remain aware that we are passing through a transitional period in which old ways are no longer valid, but new ways have not yet taken hold. This is more than just a phrase. Our goal is to achieve as much independence as possible for each firm. It is clear to us that retailing can perform in a quality manner if given the chance. To put this in a completely concrete and practical way: there has to be a change in retail margins so that they are at a level that allows each retail organization to be self-financing, in the sense of being able to finance its own technical improvements, investments, wages and social development, and to have available its own working capital so it will not have to rely on loans.

The wide range of questions, from those related to clarifying fundamental changes in our perception of basic economic categories, through specific problems of retailing, covered by our discussion attests to the comprehensiveness of the task of achieving a dynamic balance in our domestic market. Day to day monitoring of its requirements and operational interventions to deal with bottlenecks are undoubtedly essential in the current situation. If, however, we want to prevent these situations from occurring again we have to find a basic solution, within the logic of changes in economic thought, that takes into full account the importance of the market in a socialist economy.

**North Bohemia Secretary Views Restructuring**  
*24000106a Prague TVORBA in Czech 22 Feb 89 pp 4-5*

[Interview with Vaclav Sipek, secretary of the CPCZ North Bohemian Regional Committee, prepared for publication by Jiri Mekota: "About A Restructuring Within A Restructuring"; date and place not given]

[Text] [TVORBA] Currently we are celebrating the 41st anniversary of Victorious February. Do you have any personal memories of this momentous event in our history?

[Sipek] Yes I do. I belong to the generation that began its working life at that time. I still wasn't quite 17 years old, but I had already been a member of the CPCZ for a year. Party policy at that time was very comprehensible and dear to the hearts of young blue collar workers such as myself. Those February days, which definitively decided the struggle for political power in favor of the working class and the workers of our Republic, have been permanently ingrained in my mind. The class fronts were clearly defined in the village where I lived. It was very clear who was in favor of social change, for the path to socialism and who was against it.

Not only February itself, but the months that preceded it, were an important school for me. It impressed upon us young people the openness, persuasiveness, and assertiveness of party policy. This is what is referred to as

glasnost today in Russian. To this day I can recall the moving speeches of Klement Gottwald, the Sunday epistles of Zdenek Nejedly, the attractive articles in RUDE PRAVDA and TVORBA, as well as the fruitful work of communist emissaries and local party functionaries. These included my teacher, Josef Zvara, the party functionary Vaclav Uhlik, and the workers Frantisek Spacek and Stanislav Jirout, as well as my father. It was a vital spring of knowledge and inspiration for all my subsequent life. I don't think I would be exaggerating to say that February predetermined the rest of my life.

[TVORBA] What does Victorious February 1948 mean to you today?

[Sipek] Without a doubt it was the most important event of our contemporary history, a fundamental milestone on our path to socialism. It marked the beginning of the revolutionary restructuring of our society. It was an eruption of revolutionary enthusiasm and the creative force of the broad masses of our society, an eruption of exceptional activity by the entire party, all of its organizational elements, functionaries and members. This is also why February 1948 is among the proudest chapters of the history of our party and our homeland. At this time socialism ceased to exist only as a theoretical construct and entered our day to day lives. Today it has become an irreversible reality of our lives.

[TVORBA] Why then today are we again speaking of a revolutionary restructuring of society? What kind of a restructuring will this be? What is the difference?

[Sipek] You are correct, we are speaking of a restructuring today as well. This word now belongs among the most frequently used in our lexicon. This is a new phase of the process initiated by February 1948. There are those, however, who would gladly give this restructuring a different content. They are trying to misuse it, just as they did at the end of the 1960's, to return to pre-February relationships, to a bourgeois society. Just as the restructuring of capitalism into socialism was initiated 41 years ago, these people would initiate the opposite process now. But this is nothing more than a return to the past, something that we cannot even consider. The current restructuring is in no sense a retreat from socialism, but a restructuring on a foundation of the socialism that we built after Victorious February. This, then, is a restructuring within a restructuring. Its objective is to strengthen socialism, not to weaken it.

Today we are openly speaking about areas of our lives where we have not kept pace with world developments, despite the progress we have achieved. We have remained behind in scientific and technical development, in the sophistication of our goods and services. We have not been able to react in a timely way to growing problems with our environment and in the way we have been raising our younger generation. We cannot and do not want to close our eyes to these problems. The

immense revolutionary work that our people have achieved has been accompanied by errors and mistakes. Some of them are smaller, some are larger.

Today, looking back, we see that we didn't have to tear down everything, and that not everything we created has stood the test of time. This is precisely why the party initiated the process of restructuring. This policy has gained the support of all citizens of this region. For us, to speak figuratively, restructuring means tearing down and rebuilding some railings, widening a few windows, shoring up the foundations, and remodelling the living spaces in the house of the socialist society. It means more effective education of our people in the spirit of ongoing socialist development, so that everyone can participate actively in its development.

[TVORBA] What do you personally consider to be the main objectives of this restructuring?

[Sipek] To get as many people as possible to support the restructuring policy as outlined at the Seventh CPCZ CC Plenum. Simple agreement and words of support are not enough, however. Active and fruitful participation in the restructuring is essential. This means overcoming in the minds of many participants a perception of socialism as a kind of gift, as something that came about and exists independent of us, and to which many have become accustomed to coming with an open hand, expecting newer and newer handouts, whether they be an apartment, higher wages, the right to free medical care and education, or other social security. Socialism and its riches do not come about in and of themselves by waving a magic wand. They are the direct result of the efforts of millions of people. They are a work wrought by the people themselves. In its concrete form it reflects the quality or lack of quality of the work of each person. Our own experiences have shown how much damage can be done to socialism by such negative phenomena as bureaucratism, administrative-directive management techniques, voluntarism, egalitarianism, and other concepts that have led us recently into so many dead end streets. Now we are striving as honestly as we can to help socialism develop as effectively as possible, to implement all its advantages and concepts as fully as possible, since many of them have remained untapped. This is where the fruitful activity and initiative of everyone comes in. We all must be aware that socialism will not automatically give us a fuller, richer life; each of us must make this happen for ourselves. One cannot wait simply for guidelines and directives. Instead, there must be ongoing efforts at every worksite to meet all outlined goals and objectives.

[TVORBA] How is the restructuring going in the North Bohemian Region. Can you speak about some results?

[Sipek] It is generally known that the economy is the most important front for this region. Last year, for the first time in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, industry here as a whole met not only its production targets, but also plans

for the main directions of sales efforts, adjusted value added, and profits. In comparison with the first two years of the 5-Year plan the number of firms that did not meet their targets declined, and the magnitude of the shortfalls of those firms that still did not meet targets was lower. This is to the credit of a number of work collectives, above all miners, glass workers, textile workers, foundry workers, as well as employees of our electric power plants and chemical plants. The industries that did not meet their targets included the machine builders, construction workers, farmers, and food industry workers.

Economic reform occupies an important place in the implementation of restructuring. Currently 144 state enterprises have been set up in our region. The appropriate party agencies exist now in all of them. On the one hand we are pleased with the initiative being taken by managers, by their desire to solve problems, to think pragmatically, to implement new procedures, to motivate initiative and activity by their employees. The state enterprises Jablonec Costume Jewelry and Liberec Textiles are good examples of these positive attitudes. On the other hand we are still fighting with strong inertial tendencies and wait and see attitudes in the economic sphere, as well as in party and social agencies and organizations. Every day we remind ourselves how difficult it is to change accustomed forms and techniques of work.

The most serious and largest problem for us, as elsewhere, is changing the attitudes of people regarding decisionmaking and their attitude to the work process. For years we have been accustomed to performing tasks based on some guidelines or directives, so this practice has become deeply ingrained. Changing this attitude has become a truly large problem. The environment of the new economic mechanism demands, however, that everyone, not just the manager or the foreman, behave as a true manager.

Recently, however, some have come forward of whom we can be proud. These include mainly heroes of socialist labor such as the miners Frantisek Graif, Radoslav Benda, Jiri Schut, the builder Frantisek Tyser, the textile workers Marie Simakova, and Marie Buldrova, combine operator Josef Lhotak, as well as true masters of their trade such as the glass worker Bohuslav Horacek, and the greengrocer Alois Konas. Today, however, individual contributions are far from enough. The situation requires that everyone act as managers at their place of work.

[TVORBA] How is the ongoing restructuring being reflected in the activities of the regional CPCZ committee? Has the style or content of its work changed?

[Sipek] We are aware that the most effective technique is to begin with ourselves. We are therefore changing gradually the way the regional committee conducts business, creating the conditions for the democratic participation of its members and candidates in discussions and

decisionmaking on all key political, economic, and ideological questions affecting the North Bohemian region, its citizens, and our entire regional party organization. This joint participation in dealing with the common tasks of the region assumes a collectiveness in the work of the party and a policy openness based on well informed communists, work collective members, and all inhabitants of the region.

We have found it useful to inform people ahead of time of the tasks to be taken up by the regional committee, not only members, but also the general public on the pages of the PRUBOJ daily paper. In this way we obtain suggestions and comments for the actual discussions from residents of the region, thereby improving their input into the formulation of party policy and its implementation.

Comparing notes with each other has become a normal work technique for responsible party functionaries and communists in important positions in state agencies, public organizations, and enterprise management who are members of the regional party committee and its presidium. We have found that meetings prepared for in this way are significantly different from meetings prepared for in traditional ways in terms of the level of activity of members and candidates and the general responsibility of their attitudes.

[TVORBA] This then clearly implies a need to change the style and techniques of work of the party apparatus.

[Sipek] Yes. We are presently testing these new work forms in the CPCZ district committee in Decin. We are changing the current, report based work techniques to a predominantly instructional style. We want the employees to be in as close and permanent contact as possible with basic organizations and their members.

Since January we have been experimenting with changes in the structure of the regional committee apparatus. We are interested mainly in going beyond branch management techniques, because these techniques have led to an undesirable level of fragmentation, competition with and overshadowing of economic, national, and social organizations in the work of the regional committee. The new structure of the CPCZ regional committee apparatus will also lay the groundwork for improving its participation in party organizations and in work collectives. We will be releasing 15 political workers from individual divisions. Based on our recommendations these individuals had been elected as chairmen of party committees at newly formed state enterprises.

These measures are not ends in themselves but lead to the main objective, the participation of our regional party organizations in preparations for the 28th CPCZ Congress.

[TVORBA] The restructuring of society is inseparably linked to the development of democracy, with the actual, not just announced involvement of all citizens in management. What have your experiences been in this area?

[Sipek] We consider an improvement in the dialog between communists and other political parties and with nonparty members in National Front organizations, organizations affiliated with the National Front, and national committee agencies as the starting point for developing socialist democracy.

Throughout the National Front our goal is to better motivate and to increase the activity of employees and citizens. We are aggressively doing away with the long time practice of National Front agencies of not always intervening appropriately in the internal activities of social and special interest organizations. We are teaching them to respect fully the uniqueness and independence of these groups, and not to attempt to administer them. What we want is to coordinate the activities of these groups, focusing them on finding solutions to our most important social objectives. I think that the platform of the National Front allows sufficient opportunity for the democratic application of the needs and interests of citizens and makes it possible for everyone to contribute to the formulation and implementation of policy according to their abilities. It makes it possible for everyone, from their own turf, to make a statement on a particular problem, and we look forward to being presented with alternative solutions more frequently than in the past. We view the focal point of our work in this area to be the activation of the basic elements of the National Front and its affiliated organizations. We are basing this activity on the assumption that decisions on implementing party policy are made in these organizations.

We also see to it that organizations affiliated with the National Front work with the delegates that they have named to representative committees, in order to improve regular contacts with them and assist them with day to day activities in the election district. We ask delegates to take a greater interest along with their electorate in resolving public matters, in order to strengthen an awareness of their joint responsibility for the development of their community or town.

### **Lagging Computer Production Engenders Controversy**

#### **RUDE PRAVO Critical**

24000126 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech  
8 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by Eng Jindrich Katscher: "There Is Still Quite a Mouthful Left—Will the National Program of Personal Computers Be Carried Out?"]

[Text] The surveys of the important industrial products in the centrally planned industry (RP [RUDE PRAVO] 24 Jan 87, RP 30 Jan 88, RP 26 Jan 89) provide a very

gloomy picture of the fulfillment of the national personal computer program up to 1990 announced by the former federal ministry of the electronics industry and supported by the founding of the scientific production association Mikroelektronika in November 1987.

According to this program, by the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan the electronics industry is supposed to produce about 150,000 and the Mikroelektronika association roughly 210,000 personal computers. In the past 3 years (1986 to 1988) roughly 60,000 computers were produced according to the above surveys. These were mainly 8-bit computers without peripherals or with a minimum of peripherals. Roughly 300,000 personal computers therefore remain to be produced in the 2 years left to fulfill the entire program.

Perhaps the electronics industry will carry out its task in terms of quantity, but for qualitative fulfillment it would have to stop production of the 8-bit computers and produce about 50,000 16-bit and 32-bit computers by the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. However, as a practical matter their production has not even started up.

The Mikroelektronika association is still a long way from meeting its goals. In 1988 it fulfilled only about 30 percent of the plan for the production of computers and substantially zero percent of the plan for the production of peripheral equipment and external memory. It is therefore very improbable that in 2 years it will be capable of producing about 120,000 8-bit and 80,000 16-bit computers with all the peripherals promised and necessary for their operation. A concrete statement by responsible representatives of the Mikroelektronika association as to predictions on fulfillment of the original intentions is therefore more than desirable.

Last year the federal ministry of metallurgy, construction, and electronics (FMHSE) took over the tasks of the federal ministry of the electronics industry. This new agency responsible for the development of electronics in the CSSR should publicly acknowledge the national program for personal computers and take care of everything necessary to fulfill it successfully. The professional public will surely welcome the statement of the FMHSE warmly.

#### Lag Explained

24000126 Slusovice NASE CESTA in Czech  
29 Mar 89 p 4

[Article by Eng Tomas Malinda, secretary of the VVS-ME (Scientific Production Association for Mikroelektronika), replying to: "There Is Still Quite a Mouthful Left" article in RUDE PRAVO of 8 March 1989]

[Text] In Eng Jindrich Katscher's article "There Is Still Quite a Mouthful Left" printed in RUDE PRAVO on 8 March 1989 there is criticism of, among other things,

incomplete fulfillment of the program which was taken on in 1987 by the Scientific Production Association for Mikroelektronika (hereafter just the VVS-ME).

It concerned an action in support of the electronization of the national economy with the specific intention of producing a total of 214,000 personal computers by the end of 1990. The formulation of the goals announced in the VVS-ME program was made possible by the conditions at that time, but shortly after it was accepted and approved by CSR government decree No 254/87 they basically changed. This caused great slippage in its fulfillment.

The following two facts are among the main causes of the slippage which occurred in the production of computers in 1988:

1. The VVS-ME executive agent for the personal computer, JZD AK (unified agricultural cooperative agricultural combine) Slusovice, in 1987 utilized the allowed exception to restrictions on trade in the field of components and parts, as well as the technology of personal computers, for very rapid securing of the material and technical base for the production of computers. The 8-bit and 16-bit computers in each TNS series were developed and also a high-quality complex for instruction in middle schools. The production of computers grew rapidly and the prerequisites were created for constructing and putting into operation the capacity for up to 100,000 personal computers annually which would have ensured the fulfillment of the VVS-ME program. This production capacity was built in 1988 despite difficult conditions, but could not be utilized.

Revocation of the exception for foreign trade activities by the executive agent for computer production for the VVS-ME by the FMZO [federal ministry of foreign trade] (after a change of the minister in 1988) was a very sharp blow to the development of the production of personal computers in the VVS-ME. The current forms and methods of foreign trade are a strongly limiting factor also for the development of the tabletop computers in VD (production cooperative) Didaktika in Skalica, which is part of the Sluzba Bratislava production cooperative.

For example, deliveries of 256K RAM type memories (and also the growth in their prices in KS by 6-fold) and the delivery of large capacity Winchester disks were substantially blocked by negative decisions of the FMZO.

Despite the fact that the professional management was halted as unsuitable and inflexible, even in 1989 there are still viewpoints requested for individual approval of imports at superior and trade agencies. The flexibility of imports achieved is thus very low. Employees of the VVS-ME very energetically strove the entire year to get justification for foreign trade activities for the VVS-ME executive agent for personal computers but this was only

accomplished in December 1988. Allocation of the actual property hard currency account has not, however, been done even today. The attempts and extraordinary efforts of the VVS-ME employees at a new, entrepreneurial approach to meeting the needs of the national economy are having little effect because of a firmly short-sighted bureaucratic attitude. Practical steps and actions of the agencies and organizations lag behind the proclamations about restructuring since with a significant part of the officials normative thinking still wins out over goal-oriented thinking.

2. In connection with the restructuring of the economic mechanism some agencies were disestablished, among which were the FEMP (federal ministry of the electronics industry) and CK VTIR (Czech Commission on R&D Investment) under whose aegis the VVS-ME worked. This resulted in almost a liquidation of the personnel and material base of the VVS organization and in a marked limiting of the possibilities of coordinating and conceptually directing the VVS-ME activities. This situation lasted until February 1989.

In particular thanks to the understanding of the highest party agencies and the UV NF CSR (Central Committee of the National Front of the CSR) the establishment of an executive organization for the VVS-ME attached to the Czech council of the CSVTS (Czechoslovak Scientific and Technological Society) effective 1 March 1989. This restored the VVS-ME function under the new conditions which represent the transfer of the executive agency from the economic organization to the social organization.

We basically do not agree with the view of Eng Jindrich Katscher as to the need to stop production of the 8-bit computer and their position in the production programs of the electronics industry. We are convinced that the 8-bit computers have and will have their own irreplaceable functions in the management of technological processes and for a long time to come will remain an economically advantageous means of training young people.

In connection with the "Program for the Development of Children's and Young People's Participation in R&D," the VVS-ME with the cooperation of the Economic Editorial Board HRPD [expansion unknown—?Economic council?] of the Czechoslovak broadcast system announced the "Eight-bit Contest." This concerns a simple computer for young people which is compatible with the ZX Spectrum computer but which is also capable of working under the CP/M operating system. Thanks to the simple CP/M operating system, the contest computer achieves the category of a semiprofessional computer. The habits acquired in using a computer working under the CP/M operating system are fully employable in working with 16-bit professional computers working under the MS DOS operating system.

It is thus a matter of trying to limit in an economic way the fragmentation of types of 8-bit computers and thus attempting to make uniform the methodology of training young people in "the other literacy." The contest sponsors therefore consider the entire action of the 8-bit competition to be a political and educational one. The aim of the competition is to ensure the production in a short time of at least 30,000 small computers priced at up to Kcs 3,900 and to supply them to the market as a package with the basic software, literature, and peripheral equipment.

On 16 February 1989 there was a session of the VVS-ME council and immediately after its completion a press conference took place at which all the journalists present were informed in detail about the reasons for the slip-slide in carrying out the announced VVS-ME program in the field of personal computers and of the main VVS-ME goals for the immediate future. This fact is attested to also by the article by L. Horcic "Repeated Obstacles" published on 7 March 1989 in the daily MLADA FRONTA and the article "A Computer Association" printed in LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE on 10 March 1989.

If the author of the article printed in RP on 8 March 1989 mentioned above would like to get a more detailed answer to his query, he can turn to the employees of the VVS-ME executive agency whose address is in the CR (Czech Council) of the CSVTS Novotneho lavka 5, Prague 1.

(This answer was given to the RUDE PRAVO editorial staff personally on 10 March 1989!)

## HUNGARY

### Trade Unions Urged to Remain Above Party Struggle

25000164a Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian  
10 Mar 89 p 5

[Article by Marton Buza: "Trade Unions and the Multiparty System"]

[Text] The development and restructuring of the political institutional system is resulting in fundamental changes regarding the place and role of the trade union movement and the way in which it relates to the system's old and new institutions. The movement's relationship with the National Assembly, the government, the various organs of employers and above all, with the Economic Chamber, must be examined separately. I consider its relationship to the parties especially important, for the formation of a multiparty system is by now a decided issue in Hungary and the process for this has already begun.

I think that an outline of historical experiences is indispensable in this matter. The trade union movement in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was established in a multiparty society, in which the parties unequivocally



opposed the organizing of workers and the rallying for trade unions. The situation was different for the workers' party which grew out of the trade union movement and became the Social Democratic Party just 100 years ago. This party and the trade union movement were, with the exception of short periods, interwoven. This was not a Hungarian invention but rather the direct result of German-Austrian influence. During this period, too, the Hungarian trade union movement was unified and remained unified even during the period of the 1918-1919 revolutions. Although attempts were made by the Horthy regime especially during the period of the Gombos administration and later when the arrow-cross party wanted to establish a right-wing trade union to break the unity of the trade union movement, these attempts were unsuccessful because of the resistance of organized workers. Only the legal workers' party, the Social Democratic Party and, to a much smaller extent, the underground Communist Party had an influence on the trade union movement.

#### Unity and Historical Experience

It is well known that even after liberation, until 1948-49, there was a multiparty system in Hungary. The essential change was the legalization of the Communist Party. The trade union movement remained unified despite the existence and activity of two workers' parties. This did not happen without struggle but the organized workers, the members, understood that the protection and enforcement of interests, which was the main function of the movement, could be truly realized only with a unified trade union movement. During this period, too, attempts were made, above all by the Small-Holders' Party but also by other parties, to gain influence in the trade union movement but, again, they remained unsuccessful.

So the historical experiences of Hungarian trade unions prove that the movement has always been able to maintain its unity within the framework of various multiparty systems.

In examining today's experiences in developed capitalist countries with a multiparty system, we find two models on the whole. In one of them, primarily in the FRG, Austria, England, Scandinavia, and other countries there is a basically united trade union movement composed of members of various parties and independents. These united trade union movements are under the influence of a single social democratic party. A typical example of the other model is in Italy where the trade union movement is not unified, where the various trade unions are influenced mainly by the Communist, Socialist and Christian Democratic parties, and where, besides these three, other autonomous trade unions also exist. The three large trade unions strive for unified action but, at a higher level, this is attained only during various periods in varying degrees, making interest protection difficult. At the same time, on a company, workplace and, in some

cases, national level, joint factory or national interest representative bodies are established despite "summit" disagreements, and the workers' endeavor for unity succeeds.

#### Partnership With Equal Rights

The Hungarian trade union movement also has these two options before it. I place my vote with a unified trade union movement. The FRG's trade union movement, for instance, is more effective than the Italian movement, precisely because it is unified. In other words, the quality and effectiveness of its trade union movement depends on its own mass power and on the quality and definitive elements of the political institutional system, not on pluralism. If, in this political institutional system, the trade union movement is strong and independent, if it can remain independent of other parties, if it can successfully resist becoming a battlefield for party feuds, if it is able, at the same time, to establish an equal partnership with every competent party, then it will be able, under additional conditions, of course, to successfully carry out its task of protecting, representing and enforcing interests.

Throughout the world, the trade union movement can establish a close relationship with the party or parties which significantly strengthen the position of the employee, i.e., trade union membership interests. For trade unions, the most attractive party policy is one which best expresses the interests of workers living on wages and salaries and which carries the promise of prosperity for the trade union membership. The relationship of the Hungarian trade union movement with the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] must also be restructured on this basis. This is made necessary by the abolition of the 1-party system as well as the development of a mixed economy. Today we can no longer be content that "the party considers the trade union movement a comrade-in-arms" for, although that was a slogan for many years, the reality behind it was a subordinate-superior relationship in which the independence of the trade union movement was often violated. There is a need to establish a partnership of equal rights.

To achieve this, the party's sphere of cadre authority in the trade union movement must be eliminated, not only at the top level, where it was used, but also at the middle and lower levels. It is extremely important to achieve and publicize this now that trade union elections are in progress. The other main issue is that no compulsory party resolutions may be made either for the trade unions or their party member officials. Party members working in the trade unions must help implement their party's platform but they must, above all, implement the will of their union voters. And these voters will be not only party and nonparty members but also members of various parties. This membership will evaluate the activity and effectiveness, not the party affiliation, of its leading officials. The change to a multiparty system inevitably entails a change in the bodies of the trade

unions, at the top, middle and lower levels. The members of those parties which respect the unity of the trade union movement and help attain its goals will become a large part of the leadership.

#### It Cannot Be the Scene of Party Struggles

The trade union movement must develop a partner relationship with every constitutionally-grounded and progress-serving party. This relationship will be similar to the new type of social partnership that also defines other spheres of the political institutional system, with greater emphasis, of course, on union issues. We must cooperate mainly with parties whose membership consists of employees. During elections, parties also counting on union membership must include union people, workers representing coworkers, intellectuals, employees etc., on their list. It cannot yet be predicted what kind of parties these will be. But the trade union movement will cooperate with every party which manifests a partnership based on equal rights and which supports the goals and demands of the trade unions.

In my opinion, the emergence and development of a multiparty system is closely connected to the elections and to the activity of the National Assembly representatives. I think that if a 1-chamber National Assembly is created—although personally I support a 2-chamber National Assembly, where in one chamber the various interest-representing organs, such as trade unions, can delegate representatives—then during elections the trade unions must support candidates of all aforementioned constitutionally grounded parties, who hold trade union offices. The trade unions may, perhaps, run their own candidates in the next election if the new election law does not restrict this activity to parties. But by all means, a trade union faction must also be created in the National Assembly with the task of taking a united stand in issues concerning the trade union movement and the membership. At the same time, the trade union movement could launch a campaign to urge the recall of those representatives who, for instance, want to curtail union rights during the discussion of important laws (such as the social security law) or who oppose the position of the trade union movement.

The development of a multiparty system brings with it [the result that] most parties will want to exert an influence on the trade union movement and its membership. The movement cannot allow itself to become the scene for party feuds, but the contest for influence will increase the trade unions' prestige and importance if the movement is capable of observing the principle of remaining outside the bastions of power, while exerting a serious influence on the institutions of power, the National Assembly and the government in representing and protecting employee interests.

#### Parliamentary Committee Reviews Recsk Ore Mine Options

25000212a Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian  
14 Apr 89

[Article by "molnar": "A 13-Billion-Dollar Resource Under Water?"]

[Text] The National Assembly's Industrial Committee has reached a low point. Representatives yesterday visited the Recsk ore mine. The steel barrel took them about 1,100 meters under ground, in order to obtain direct information in the broad tunnels concerning the natural environment and the mood of workers there.

The afternoon committee meeting held in Recsk's house of culture was characterized by sober calculations. Industry minister Frigyes Berecz provided a sketch of official perceptions concerning the mine. The mine that consumed much money while vegetating for years would either become a Soviet-Hungarian mixed enterprise, or a stock corporation established jointly with Western firms to profit from the ore resources. Alternatively, the mine would permanently cease to function as a mine. This means that Recsk would be shut down. The latter alternative would cost more a year from now than the 250 million forints allocated for purposes of the mine this year, but in the coming decade the state budget would free itself from a substantial expense item.

Heves County representative Mrs Istvan Zsidei who brought the Recsk dilemma before Parliament pointed out the fact that by deciding to shut down the mine an investment which thus far amounted to 7 billion forints, and an ore resource worth 13 billion dollars would go under water. The representative expressed regret about the fact that as a result of ideological spasms several years ago the government rejected Western offers to make use of the mine. Without that bad decision we would be richer today as a result of a profitable enterprise! She recommended that beginning on 1 July the Recsk mine become independent, meaning that it should be severed from the entity called National Ore and Mineral Mines, and that the independent firm should not be restricted by conditions established by government concerning its evolution.

Budapest representative Pal Gagyor conveyed the views of the Hungarian Economic Chamber. He called attention to the fact that conditions taken into consideration by the planners of the Soviet-Hungarian venture were too optimistic, and therefore these plans may serve as a basis for reaching false conclusions. He suggested that already at this point we should let Soviet entrepreneurs compete with Western firms that make offers.

Budapest legislator Geza Szalai pointed out that public opinion has doubts also relative to the utilization of domestic uranium ore. The question is whether it is

sufficiently advantageous to the Hungarian party? We must not squander our copper ore resources, and therefore we should carefully watch the negotiation process.

Budapest representative Karoly Kovacs stated that negative tendencies would be strengthened by closing down Recsk. Accordingly, "mine we must," he said, and Budapest representative Kalman Szabo agreed. Representative Szabo, a university professor, pointed out the fact that the exploration of Recsk is actively urged also by alternative movements.

It takes at least five years before a young man becomes a foreman, therefore we should not disintegrate our domestic mining culture, according to an emphatic statement by Karoly Nyerges, a representative from Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County. Recsk should operate as an independent firm he told Barna Mezo, president of the National Ore and Mineral Mines present at the meeting.

During the meeting which lasted until late afternoon it was stated that among other matters, the start of mining production at Recsk would provide jobs for almost 3,000 people. Thus also the miners released from the Nograd Coal Mines could find jobs.

According to calculations the exploration of the Recsk copper resource would provide jobs for residents in the neighborhood for 150-200 years, and would serve well to satisfy the metal requirements of Hungarian industry.

**Growing Number of Failing Operations Reported**  
*25000187a Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian*  
29 Mar 89 p 4

[Text] The Office of Taxation and Finance Control has completed a summation of last year's business figures for enterprises and cooperatives. It reveals that the planned financial position of businesses developed unfavorably, and in some cases even less favorably than planned for the previous year.

On the national economic level, the socialist sector's total profits declined almost 20 percent as opposed to the anticipated 40-percent decline. There were 103 more operations showing a deficit than in 1987.

Sales receipts of enterprises and cooperatives showed a 4-percent increase over the previous year. This includes a 3.1-percent increase in domestic sales. Sales receipts of industrial enterprises increased by 3.8 percent, those of agricultural units by 3.5 percent. Total sales receipts in commerce reached the base period level. Sales receipts of consumer goods were 6 percent less than in the previous year.

Since increases in producer prices were greater than this, actual production increases were generally imperceptible. In the construction industry, sales receipts declined by 3.6 percent in 1988, primarily as the result of a decline in the number of construction and a slackening

in state home developments. Enterprises and cooperatives experienced a 26-percent increase in sales receipts of exports in convertible accounts, a more dynamic increase than planned. Convertible export sales of industrial businesses increased by 28 percent, which includes the exceptional performances of metallurgical and chemical enterprises. The good work of the enterprises, the central directives, and a boom in the world market also played a significant role in this.

The yields of industrial businesses were 38 percent lower than in the previous year but 40 percent higher than planned. Yields increased in mining and metallurgy and decreased in the processing industry.

Total expenditures of businesses in 1988 increased by 7 percent including wage increases, resulting from a decline of 156,000 in the number of employees.

**More Soviet Cars To Be Imported to Hungary**  
*25000164b Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian*  
10 Mar 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Backlog Is Made Up: 44,000 Soviet Cars Will Arrive in Hungary This Year"]

[Text] Despite the zealous efforts of tradesmen, a desirable balance in the exchange of goods between Hungary and the Soviet Union was not achieved in 1988, chief counselor Imre Matajz stated. The director of the Hungarian trade agency in Moscow held a press conference for Hungarian and Soviet journalists in Moscow on Thursday.

The various questions of balance amount to a total of 1 billion rubles, i.e., this is the amount which should be balanced with additional Soviet shipments.

Imre Matajz emphasized that during preliminary talks the Soviet partners were understanding but, because of their own internal problems, they could undertake surplus shipments only in the amount of 200 million rubles this year. Because of all this, Hungary has been forced to decrease its exports to the Soviet Union.

This year we will receive an additional 730 million cubic meters of natural gas, 500 million of which will arrive as the initial payment for the Yamburg credits. A reduced amount of newsprint will be shipped.

As for Hungary, our Ikarus bus shipments to the Soviet Union will be 1,000 less, and we will not be selling a single motor-train in 1989. Our wine and champagne exports will remain at the 1988 level.

Compared to the volume of last year's car shipments, the planned increase, which is of great public interest, will be noteworthy. Some 44,000 cars are expected to arrive this year in Hungary. Of these, 7,000 will supplement last year's backlog. In addition to Ladas, we will receive 1,000 Volgas, 750 Moskvitches, and about 250 Tavrias.



### **Bos-Nagymaros Progress Report: Poplar Alley Falls Victim**

25000187c Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian  
7 Apr 89 p 16

[Text] (MTI)—A report was given on the Nagymaros barrage at the meeting of the Central Danube Region Executive Committee's presidium on Thursday by Miklos Szanto, director general of Oviber, which is administering the major investment project. He stated, among other things, that, along with the scheduled work in the riverbed, various enterprises are simultaneously also working on both sides of the enclosed riverbank. Route 12 is being rebuilt and widened between Nagymaros and Zebegeny, the Nagymaros waterworks has been enlarged and the sewer enabling the settlement's sewage to be carried to the Vac purifier has been completed. They have also begun work on controlling the Ipoly river between Szob and Letkes, modernizing the road and planning region's land which may increase the area's tourist value. On the other side, the rebuilding of route 11 is in progress. In the course of the digging, the remains of a fort from Roman times was found in the outskirts of Visegrad; investors are contributing 15 million forints for the archaeological work and the salvaging of the findings. A look-out tower is expected to be opened in Visegrad at the end of May from where guests will be able to follow the work in progress.

The construction of a biological water purifying system with a daily 12,000 cubic meter capacity is scheduled to begin soon in Esztergom, to be completed in 1992.

A tempest has been stirring in the past weeks, brought on by the unauthorized felling of the famous poplar alley at Nagymaros, a landmark of the region. The director general of Oviber investigated this massive destruction of the environment and initiated a departmental investigation. Saplings will be planted to replace the felled trees.

### **Computer Profiles, Data Protection Law Discussed**

25000165b Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian  
8 Mar 89 p 16

[Article by Miklos Bonta: "Computer Characterization: Personal Data Reveal Everything from Health Prospects to Marital Secrets—Legal Data Protection, Personal Numbers, Personal Rights"]

[Text] Using automation, it is possible to extract typical personal characteristics from the mass of data derived from the every-day lives of citizens, and the people studied can be placed into computer "castes." So in principle it is possible to predict how a person will behave when he is placed in a new situation. One can also deduce how he will spend his money (when does he buy things, what his consumption patterns are), what his health prospects are (is he employable or insurable), what books he reads in the library (that is, what opinions does he have), with whom he

lives and where (what is his family life like), for whom he voted for (is he politically reliable), and whether he pays his bills (what is his financial situation). If the data bases that contain this information release what they know, they make citizens into servants of business circles and political organizations.

Work has also begun in our country directed toward developing a law on handling personal data and maintaining data of common interest. The government has recommended that before the law is written there should be social debates, and after that—foreseeably next year—Parliament should consider the recommended law. A lively discussion on this topic took place at the John von Neumann Society for Computer Sciences, in which not just computer-technical, but also ethical, citizens', and legal viewpoints were debated. It was determined that the amount of information maintained about citizens is overwhelming, even to experts. Even though in our country—naturally—we are not at the level of the United States, where there are 4 billion computerized data files with personal information, we still have in the possession of various organizations a great amount of data that would make it possible, if the proper connections were known, to work out personal characteristics for every Hungarian citizen.

Some of the data bases have been from the beginning secret or of restricted access. These include military, criminal, and political records.

The goal of the law is that everyone should have control over his own information, with the right to examine it and receive copies of it. This principle will also find a place in the new constitution that is now being developed.

### **Transportation Workers Democratic Union Established**

25000213 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian  
11 Apr 89 p 7

[Text] A Transportation Workers Democratic Trade Union [KDDSZ] was established at the Pest County Danube Volan Enterprise directorate in Godollo. Among the 138 founding members one finds white collar workers just as drivers, loading personnel, movers, and the physical workers involved in vehicle maintenance. The KDDSZ intends to fight for the establishment of a democratic Hungarian society, for guaranteed existential security in society, and for every worker's right to work. The new organization intends to represent primarily the interests of workers engaged in public transportation, but anyone may join who accepts the bylaws, files an application and pays dues.

The KDDSZ operates in a manner consistent with the principle of representative democracy, authorizes its board of directors to organize and to recruit membership, and to establish and maintain links with state and

social organs, including the independent trade unions, the trade unions of various branches of industry as well as the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT].

### Organization Helping Poor Becomes National Association

25000190b Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian  
6 Apr 89 p 5

[Text] The Fund for Helping the Poor has become a national association. As of 4 April, the FHP, established in late 1979, has been operating as a foundation. Its task continues to be providing help, without any kind of discrimination, to those who need help the most. The association wants to contribute to the elimination of the causes of poverty and provide daily assistance to persons and families who are lacking the basic necessities of life.

An initial sum of 30,000 forints was given to the FHP's foundation by writer Mihaly Korniss who offered his Attila Jozsef Prize money. The association expects donations from private and legal persons and institutions. The HFP may be contacted by calling 654-282. (MTI)

## POLAND

### Call for Dissolution of State Enterprise Associations

26000470 PRZEGLAD ORGANIZACJI in Polish  
No 2, Feb 89 pp 28-31

[Article by Pawel Napierkowski: "Associations Without a Future"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Until now, associations of state enterprises fulfilled an entire range of various functions, the chief of which included:

- servicing the flow of supplies to the enterprises, intermediation in deliveries, allocation, obtainment of scarce products, etc.;
- improving the conditions for the management of enterprises; accelerating the circulation of information, economic and legal advice, intermediation in contacts with the central state administration.

As we see, these were functions ensuing from two features in the system for managing the national economy:

- distribution of finances;
- issuance of orders for action.

Therefore, the following theses may be formulated:

As the state control of resources is replaced by the raw-materials market, the need to maintain associations for the implementation of the allocation system will disappear.

As parametrization of the system of management occurs and the use of economic instruments becomes more widespread, the need to maintain associations as the intermediate link in the command-directive system of exercising economic authority will disappear.

The fate of the associations of state enterprises, therefore, depends simply proportionally on the improvement in the economic situation and changes in the state's economic policy.

On this basis we can assume that for a period of another 2 or 3 years the associations will remain a part of the Polish economic "landscape," because even the greatest optimists do not expect a turnaround in the economy in such a short time. On the other hand, we must objectively admit that the promises of the representatives of the economic authorities and the provisions in the key documents of economic reform point to radical changes in both of the mentioned fields of the economy and the process of its management. This means that associations, although still in a strong position (the enterprises which are not leaving the association support this form of organization), will exist for a limited time.

The speed with which the voluntary associations dissolve can be accelerated even more if the maneuver of breaking through the branch structure of the economy is successful. It is difficult to predict the effectiveness of the restructurization processes. For now, the first step in this direction has been taken. Postulates for discontinuance of the single-branch form of enterprise groupings have been formulated, just as this field has been promised greater freedom for enterprises by limiting the role of the parent organs.

The second potential way of converting facultative associations into capital companies is not an alternative to the dissolution of voluntary associations of enterprises. It should be expected that a part of the decided majority of associations engaged in economy activity will use commercial companies to continue their present activity. Thus far, in a large number of associations, plants which draw up their own balance sheets have been set up, in which economic activity is located (sales, production, information, social, etc.). The turnover funds of the association economic plants are derived exclusively from the development funds of the associated enterprises, for the Polish National Bank will not give credit to associations, and especially their organizations, because they are not legal entities. Furthermore, the plants which draw up their own balance sheets do not benefit from income tax relief, which would prevent them from earning their own turnover funds. Forming association economic plants was a step which brought the association model closer to that of a quasi-capital association. Thus new economic organizations arose which had not been foreseen in the concepts of economic reform, revealed by the law on state enterprises. We can assume that the next, somewhat natural step, will be the reorganization of the plants which draw up their own

balance sheets into limited liability companies or stock companies. Thanks to this a clear division was achieved between the economic functions of the associations (plants) and their statutory goals (offices), expressed in coordinating, intermediating and other functions.

The second aspect of the creation of commercial companies in place of voluntary associations is the possibility of the transformation of entire associations into capital systems. The basic way of financing the estimated office expenses of the association and its organizations, does not preserve the relationship between the outlays of the enterprises for the association and the benefits they obtain. Under the present method for figuring contributions to maintain the association, the large enterprises, those which are able to function independently, are primarily the ones that pay; on the other hand, the small ones, which need a "protective umbrella," pay the least. However, the commercial company is a form of organization which guarantees that the relationship between outlays and results (e.g., dividends) is preserved. This is an argument in favor of transforming facultative associations into commercial companies, and as of right now it is the only argument because it is difficult to find a simple transmission of association functions to company functions. Both forms of organization, although they fulfill an integrating function, are set up to realize different detailed goals. It appears very probable that the transformation discussed will take place only in sporadic cases.

In conclusion, therefore, it can be said that associations of state enterprises have no prospects for development, and that in the next few years we should expect that they will self-dissolve.

Capital companies may become the continuators of these associations, but only as relates to economic functions. By the way, it should be mentioned that the creation of capital companies based on integrational arrangements of associations of state enterprises will encounter the same problems as the creation of commercial companies in general. The need for comprehensive and internally cohesive economic regulations, with legal status, becomes urgent and simply amending the code of commerce is not enough. A definition of the concept of capital in a socialist economy, securities exchange, rules for conversion of different forms of aktiws, etc., is also required.

#### **Krakow TWIG Official on Tourist, Mercantile Development**

26000459 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
8 Mar 89 p 1

[Interview with Dr Kazimierz Kotwica, president, TWIG (Society in Support of Economic Initiatives) Voivodship Council, by Andrzej Zielinski: "For the Present We Must Be a Battering Ram"; date and place not given]

[Text] [RZECZPOSPOLITA] They are saying in Krakow that the TWIG is an elitist organization. How much of this is truth and how much is malice?

[Kotwica] I am not afraid of the word "elitist." We are elitist in our own way. We said from the beginning that we will admit only those people who know how to do something, who want to teach something and do something. If we had taken on a lot of dead weight, the representatives of the various organizations, associations and institutions who would merely represent these organizations and be present, we would find ourselves where many former initiatives found themselves: nowhere. We prefer to be a smaller circle of active people.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Who is included in this circle?

[Kotwica] The directors of many enterprises, plenipotentiaries and heads of firms operating on foreign capital, academics and tradesmen and all those who want to do something and are prepared to expend their skills and their monies to reap personal benefits while serving society. It is characteristic that many young people have entered the society.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] To reach your office, one enters an undistinguished gray building in the Main Square, goes to the annex, up to the third floor and then, on top of that, enters through the arcade. You are not very accessible.

[Kotwica] The people who wanted to get there have done so without a problem. Nor have we sat idly by, but we have met halfway all those who want to act.

In addition to the TWIG there are many economic organizations active in Krakow, for example, the Krakow Industrial Society and the Krakow 88 Seminar, now known as Krakow 89. Together we have come to an understanding and we have arrived at a definition of the three most urgent directions of activity for Krakow, the statement of which was drawn up by the TWIG last November. These are: the opening of the Krakow Special Economic Zone, the establishment of a dutyfree area as the first stage of this zone and the creation of the climate, the conditions, and the potential for the development of small-scale production and services in Krakow.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] There is no shortage of good proposals in Poland. The problem lies in implementing them.

[Kotwica] Let me put it another way: those who propose something generally make the bureaucrats feel very uncomfortable. They push them to work. In the first place, we must determine the possible arguments against these proposals. If there are none, we must begin to implement these proposals. In other words, we must start working. Then comes the great bureaucratic resistance. The purpose of TWIG is to break down this resistance.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] With a battering ram?

[Kotwica] Yes, we must also be a battering ram. For the present we must be that battering ram that will break down the walls of prejudice and indifference. We are creating a gap in that wall through which the stream of initiatives flows.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Are you succeeding in this?

[Kotwica] I think that we are presenting a certain manner of economic activity. Please keep in mind that Krakow is Poland's second industrial, academic and cultural center and that it has unquestionable tourist advantages. We are demonstrating how to use this to benefit the citizenry. The PZPR Krakow Committee is giving us a great deal of support in this activity; society is supporting us as well because it seems that it is reasonable and attainable. I can mention a few matters that have already been accomplished or are being accomplished with TWIG participation. For example, since 15 December 1988, it is possible to settle matters related to establishing a firm at a single window in the official agency. Now we are trying to establish a company in which the TWIG, the municipal authorities and all interested parties will participate. This company would offer space and it would seek to resolve formal-legal and implementational matters related to undertaking service activity.

We back tourism. Particularly in the Kazimierz quarter, we want to restore the tenements and turn them into boarding houses and small hotels, so that not only the wealthiest tourists would visit Krakow, but those with more modest incomes as well.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] The program of tourist management for cities and neighborhoods means more than hotels. In the foreign tourism guides one reads that a stay of longer than one day in Krakow is harmful to one's health.

[Kotwica] We read that too. With the support of researchers, we are preparing a system for reorganizing Krakow's industry in the direction of precision industry, the food industry and the processing industry. Above all,

we must utilize the intellectual potential in Krakow in this endeavor. We also would like to take a new look at the local medical facilities, at the curative waters located not far from here. We are creating a company backed by foreign capital for producing dialysis fluids and for carrying out dialysis. We will render these services to patients from abroad and from Poland. This is merely a typical example.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Will we be able to draw this foreign capital into Poland?

[Kotwica] Laws created by the Sejm already have resolved a key problem here. However, there is still the entire sphere of taxation to deal with. The present system of taxation is unclear, incohesive and obsolete. We must create guarantees for capitalists who wish to enter the Polish market, ensuring the stability of regulations and making this operation profitable.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What do we have to gain from this?

[Kotwica] Already at the present time, we wish to join together the TWIG Foundation, the Foundation for the Preservation of Krakow Monuments and the Spaar foreign trade houses to open pilot stores that will trade items from these trade houses in zlotys and foreign currencies. For now we plan to do this in Krakow; later we hope to expand to the whole of Poland, working through the TWIG. However, taxation guarantees to make this all profitable must be put into effect. Another example. In May, we will open in Krakow several Imbuss-type eating establishments, serving sausages, hot dogs and hamburgers. The Polcarex firm is our partner here. Later on in the year, we would like to open grill-bars in partnership with Sweden. Foreign capital wants to enter Krakow, but the guarantees are necessary.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] In other words, you are trying to break down the taxation system with your battering ram.

[Kotwica] I would say we are, along with others. Truly, in this area changes must take place on a par with the changes being wrought throughout Poland. And they must be bold and effective.

## POLAND

### Private Education Proponent on Handicapped, Rural Issues

26000370 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
4-5 Feb 89 p 5

[Interview with Andrzej Witwicki, cofounder of STO, Spoleczne Towarzystwo Oswiatowe (Community Educational Society), by Jolanta Krol: "Missing Link?"; date and place not given]

[Text] [TRYBUNA LUDU] Recently we have been getting more and more educational associations in our country. After the Drive to Restore Childhood to Children, the Malopolska Educational Society, and the Wroclaw Educational Society, now the Community Educational Society, or STO, has also been registered. What sort of aspirations gave rise to the formation of STO? What sort of goals does it have?

[Witwicki] The creation of the Community Educational Society is, on the one hand, a reaction to the crisis in the Polish schools and the administration's helplessness up until now and, on the other hand, an expression of a sense of the responsibility parents have for the education of their children, as well as an expression of their desire to share in decisions made concerning it. One of the forms of STO activity will also be to set up what we call community schools, organized and financed by the parents themselves.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] Discussion on the subject of private schools revealed that this concept has both advocates and decided opponents. Your applications for registration were turned down twice. Has your idea of introducing a private-sector approach to education undergone any modification during the course of your annual efforts to be registered?

[Witwicki] Our participation in public discussions actually came down to trying to show that most of the accusations made against us were the result of lack of familiarity with the subject. The registration process also consisted mainly of giving explanations. We have not modified either the statute or the program of activities.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] Your optimism surprises me. Do you really think that just ordinary families (because you are basing it on such families), who are busy running around and working at their jobs will decide to make the tremendous organizational effort it takes to set up schools?

[Witwicki] That's what we created STO for, to help them do it. To facilitate meeting in groups and distributing responsibilities. We will also assist in finding quarters and getting equipment. We will work to get teachers.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] It's easy to say: We will facilitate finding quarters, getting equipment and teachers... I have in front of me the 4-year report of the NCPS, the National Effort to Help Schools. The outcome? Nearly 1,000 facilities were put up through volunteer efforts. Only the activists of this movement, hard rural people know just how much this success cost them. What makes you so sure things will be easier for you?

[Witwicki] We appreciate the achievements of the NCPS, and we are in contact with its activists, who, for example, supported our efforts to become registered, but the NCPS supports a uniform model system of education. It builds large, expensive school facilities. We are proposing completely different methods of operation. We want to begin our schools not with a concrete building (we won't be able to afford it), but with a group of children and then find educators for them. For a small school (even one with just one class), the space could be leased, rented. The parents are full of ideas.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] Let's clarify certain facts. Somebody who is not in the know might think: "Good. They registered STO, so now private schools will spring up like mushrooms after a spring rain." But the second point of your bylaws mentions conducting your "own educational and child care facilities." The phrase "community school" doesn't even appear.

[Witwicki] The bylaws we registered describe the framework of our activity, not necessarily its concrete forms. We recognized that registration was a first step on a long march but merely a formal one. It's too bad that we had to waste a whole year and a mass of energy on it. But as to uncontrolled "multiplication" of nonstate schools, I can set their opponents at ease: each school will need separate permission from education officials.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] If some sort of "community school" comes into being, it will basically be a fancy school. There will also be those small classes of 10-15, good equipment and plenty of it, along with teachers paid far more than average. I wonder what sort of sky-high tuition the parents are going to have to pay for their schools to meet all these conditions. Who are these schools going to be for, the financial elite? And this may become one more feature of the nouveau riche, like a luxury car, a private house in the suburbs...

[Witwicki] There has been a lot of talk about us for a long time, but the "nouveau riche," as you probably call the representatives of private enterprises, are not at all interested in STO activities. We are an association of parents, not the most wealthy parents but those who have their children's welfare at heart.

As for the costs, you don't get anything for nothing. Parents also pay for what is called a free school, only in a roundabout way, through taxes and the budget, but the education administration handles their money. We are proposing (alongside paying taxes) to finance schools



directly and have them under our own control, which will produce immediate results. Tuition can start at from 10,000 to 15,000. Many families with incomes near the national average can afford to pay that.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] You'd have to ask the families that. For wealthy people, 15,000 or 20,000 really isn't much. They have not become interested yet in STO. They will come to you as soon as you get things going...

[Witwicki] Then they will pay the full tuition, and even higher. But those less well off will receive scholarships. We consider concern to see that one's child receive a good education as the most healthy of all snobbish desires, because it is socially useful. We need as many active, well educated people as possible, regardless of whose children they are.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] I have nothing against an educated Pole, but I think that the appearance of private schools will split our children into the haves and have nots.

[Witwicki] Families of modest means with many children will not be able to afford even low tuition, that is true. This is why we have created community schools rather than throwing out the idea of "private schools." We will conduct economic activity, set up a foundation, and create a scholarship system.

For example, we want children referred by vocational training counsellors to find their way to our schools. Hypersensitive children, and children with dyslexia or dysgraphia. There is nobody in the schools today to deal with them. Learning difficulties appear, nervous problems, even serious psychological problems. A small community school will be able to deal with them individually, giving them an equal chance in life.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] Let there be two poor children in the class. After all, that's not many. So it's more like soothing your conscience, but the concept of equal opportunity seems to be planning way into the future, with growth in mind, isn't it?

[Witwicki] The educational administration is required to take proper care of all the children, including children who have more trouble learning. Today they can't even handle this obligation. In this situation I ask: Which is better, to help even a few more children or none at all? It's not a question of conscience. Besides, you have to start somewhere. I agree that we deal with many concepts with the idea of planning for growth way into the future, but Krakow was not built in a day.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] You are planning in advance that your drive will encompass a small proportion of our children. Is there any sense of creating "islands of psychological comfort." Aren't you drawing away from

community action those people who could be doing something to improve the state educational system? Let's add a priority system, because it is universal and free.

[Witwicki] Nearly everyone who comes to us emphasizes that they have been attracted by our proposals for new forms of operation and by the fact that no past community work in the educational field has seemed to them to be effective enough.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] A new ordinance has just been issued on the operating principles for parents' committees. It greatly expands on their previous rights.

[Witwicki] But it doesn't recognize the most important rights, to constitute schools. Parents' committees have been activated several times in the past, and no such effort has ever worked. Today's parents' committee is a completely accidental group of people with nothing in common save the fact that their children happen to all be in one class. With us the situation is just the opposite. First they come to create a committee, and only then is a class formed. Mutual efforts to set up a community school strengthen the bonds between the parents.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] If it's a question of the ordinance on parents' committees, let me repeat your own words: "You have to start somewhere. Krakow wasn't built in a day." But do community schools meet all our expectations in this area? They too someday will become "routine."

[Witwicki] With us that is not possible, because a community school without active parental supervision just can't exist. If the parents pull out of this enterprise, and it proves to be beyond their strength (and here it is a question of interest in the child's education, not money), they can always send their children to the state school, which is "free of problems" and free of charge.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] You are to bring health to the Polish schools. But what about the rural areas? You aren't mentioning them.

[Witwicki] It is true that our initiative was born in the city, in the deprived schools of the bedroom communities, but it would work perfectly well in rural areas too. After all, it is there that parents most frequently put up schools through volunteer effort. Must they then turn them over to an inefficient administrative body and agree to having a faculty that is sometimes not quite right?

[TRYBUNA LUDU] It's interesting why the rural areas aren't putting forward the demands you have proposed.

[Witwicki] Because up until now nobody has made such demands, in either the rural areas or the city. We will not find out what the response is for several months of operation.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] Let's go on to another matter. In education there are great changes in the works. Minister J. Fisiak is promising a fundamental reform in the system, but he has said No to private elementary schools. Have you already agreed to the idea that in this area for the time being you won't be able to set up your own institutions?

[Witwicki] There has already been talk about changes many times, but not much good has come of it. Besides, there have been a host of large-scale errors and irresponsible experiments with our children bearing the brunt of them. This does not mean that we are prejudiced against what the new minister and his staff do in the future, but the bureaucrats can wait. The parents don't want to anymore. If somebody's child is entering first grade this September, and everybody already knows that this is going to be a class of 40 in a school with three sessions, no reform in the system is going to change that in 8 months. No school superintendent is going to work the magic of a second school and another set of teachers, even if the money flows. That would take several years.

I'm bold enough to suggest that Minister Fisiak's position may stem from a lack of detailed information about our intentions. STO is not so terrible as some people portray it to be. Wherever we could give out detailed information, we found approval from government institutions. We will also try for such a meeting with the minister of education.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] For the time being we can perhaps expect the "solution" of some sort of private secondary school. The parents will finance it, but how will they influence its operation?

[Witwicki] They won't interfere with classes. After all, they aren't specialists. They aren't familiar with teaching methods. The parents' trump card is that they will be making the decisions on management issues: class size, meals, extracurricular activities. They will also involve the teachers—this is very important—and they can bring about their being let go, if they don't do good work.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] That's something entirely new. If you think back to the famous private schools before the war, like those of Reytan, Gorski, and Zamoyski, parents at those schools had no such prerogatives. Aren't you afraid that such precedents will "spoil" the students and make them start treating educators as people who serve them? What happens to the teacher's authority?

[Witwicki] The parents are responsible for their children's upbringing and education. The school is to help them in this. Therefore, in a certain sense, it really is performing a service function. This in no way diminishes its authority. This is the reverse of the situation where the school teaches and educates, while the parents are supposed to help it, that is, lodge the child over night, feed the child, and assist with the lessons. This system leads to pathology.

On the other hand, the main reason the teacher's authority has declined is that the teacher's pay has been put at the bottom of the pay scale. We fully appreciate the service of a good educator and teacher in our children's education, and that is what we are willing to pay a good deal for.

The Supervisory Council will be the highest level of school authority, and it will be made up of the parents and the teachers' group. No teacher will have to be afraid of being let go because of an angry child or sensitive mother. Reliable assessment of the teacher's work will be what counts.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] Private schools, elite and expensive ones, used to exist in pre-war Poland. They were a factor which differentiated youngsters in terms of class, strata, or environment, however you want to put it. And with all that they did not insure a high level of instruction. In this era of universal, free education, isn't your idea a regression, a step backwards.

[Witwicki] The community school will not be some sort of private money-making establishment but a self-financing affair paid for by subscriptions operating under the protection and supervision of the STO and under the supervision of the ministry. We will use modern teaching methods. We are also going to try to facilitate access to our facilities. In many countries schools of this sort exist, operate, and represent an essential complement to state education.

In our countries the parents themselves will set up the community schools. Will they fill the bill? Practical experience will show the extent to which parental encouragement can be used to care for our own children. We are not excluding the possibility that there will be very few community schools.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] I'm not worried about there being too few of them. Unfortunately, you haven't convinced me about your concept. This doesn't seem like a way to "restore health" to the Polish schools. At any rate, thank you for the interview.

P.S. On 22 January, the first general meeting of members of STO was held in Warsaw. About 250 persons attended. The top officers were elected, and the program declaration describing the fields of activity was approved.

#### **Ongoing Belorussian Cultural, Social Activities Outlined**

26000433 Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish  
No 13, 1 Apr 89 p 14

[Article by Dr Leszek Tomaszewski, professor, Biopharmaceutical Institute, Medical Academy in Warsaw: "Lack of Insight"]

[Text] I read with great amazement the strange remark made by Mr Eugeniusz Mironowicz, a historian, who is regarded as a representative of the young Belorussian

intelligentsia (POLITYKA No 53/88 in the column entitled "Opinions," an excerpt of an interview from GAZETA ROBOTNICZA). The quoted remarks read as follows: "The Belorussian community is closed within itself for no forms of legal activity exist. We have no goals in common with the Polish majority. The Polish authorities have not given permission to the community (Belorussian) for holding discussions, for the exchange of ideas or the reading of literature (Belorussian). We have nothing to offer and we want nothing." End of quote.

In Mr Mironowicz's statement, we can detect a clear implication that it is the Polish authorities who are pushing the Belorussians to retreat into themselves bordering on illegality. It is they who are allegedly the cause of Mr Mironowicz's xenophobic and isolationist feelings of resentment!

This is an obvious lie based on impudence that preys on the lack of awareness and knowledge of Polish society with regard to issues concerning our own minorities and not informed about the Polish minority in the republics of our neighbor to the east with the exception of the most recent period.

There are only two possible reasons for such a stand: either the total lack of understanding of the Belorussian sociocultural movement or ill will. Tertium non datur [Latin: "The third one can not be given"].

That is why I will permit myself to show Mr Mironowicz the scope of totally legal national Belorussian activity in which he will find room for "discussion, the exchange of ideas and the reading of literature," organized with the consent of the Polish authorities. For it is active involvement that totally combats verbal and tactical discontent.

The Belorussian Sociocultural Society [BTSK] has been active in Poland for over 30 years on the basis of the Belorussian population numbering 120,000 to 250,000 people (nota bene, it was not until 1988 that a similar Polish society was created in Belorussia). There are 17 regional branches of this society [Belorussian] with a continually growing number of members.

There are 52 schools and branches in Bialystok Voivodship where the Belorussian language is being taught. The teaching of Belorussian begins in second grade, much the same as in Lvov during the Second Republic when I was studying Ukrainian in a bilingual school. About 4,000 children (precisely, 3,686) children were taking Belorussian in 1988. There are two secondary schools that teach Belorussian: one is in Hajnowka and the other in Bielsko Podlaskie. One school in Bielsko has 900 students studying Belorussian. It takes only four interested candidates to open up an instruction center and 12 interested students to start a group, i.e., class. (Regulations Gazette of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing No 10, 1987, decree 67). Naturally, parents must express their consent and desire for this.

There BTSK members hold the position of councillor in the Bialystok People's Council.

For the past 30 years, the Bialystok radio station has been broadcasting weekly programs in Belorussian which at first lasted 15 minutes and since 1983, 30 minutes.

There is a literary group, "Bialowieza," affiliated with the BTSK Main Administration and it, too, already has a 30-year-old tradition. (Wiktor Szwed, Sokrat Janowicz, Jan Czykwin, Mikolaj Szachowicz and others publish collections of poetry translated into Polish). Students of Belorussian studies publish a monthly, OBECNOSC, and in 1988, the "Belorussian Calendar" came out which is comparable to the "Ukrainian Calendar."

The continually developing Museum of Belorussian Culture and Revolutionary Movement has been active in Hajnowka for several years now. Also in Hajnowka, one of the most beautiful European Orthodox Churches has been built, designed by A. Grygorowicz from Poznan. In May of last year, an international conference of Orthodox Churches: the Polish, Russian, Czech and the Finnish Orthodox Church, was held here.

The "Festival of Belorussian Culture" has been going on for 3 years at the Bialystok city theater. It was initiated to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the existence of the above mentioned "Bialowieza" literary group. In 1988, this festival was held with the participation of a group from Grodno and the U.S.A. whereas in the Podlaska Philharmonic, a 2-day Belorussian song festival was held with the participation of groups and composers from Soviet Belorussia.

Since February of last year, the "National University" has been in operation sponsored by the BTSK Main Administration.

The Belorussian youth hiking camp, "Ojczyzna," has hiked its way across the Bialystok region.

I will mention here events organized both sporadically as well as systematically by the BTSK Main Administration for various age and interest groups of the Belorussian population: a speech-recitation contest for children in Bielsko; a convention of Belorussian students also held in Bielsko; and in May, a review of theatrical companies was held in this same town in which four performing folk troupes participated; a 3-day convention of Belorussian teachers also took place.

It is possible to find examples of cultural cooperation between the Belorussian community and the Polish majority: Sokrat Janowicz held an author's evening in Gdansk; the artist, Dawydzuk, had an exhibit in Lodz; and Hajduk published a collection of poetry in Polish.

The year 1988 was marked with new incentives in the life of the Belorussian community in Poland. Official contacts with Soviet Belorussia were made owing to the normalization established by agreements between the PRL government and the BSSR at various party and government levels. The Belorussian Communist Party delegation has visited the secondary school in Bielsko and it paid a visit to the BTSK Main Administration; "Niwa" obtained the right of circulation of Polish publications in the Belorussian Soviet Republic; and it was determined that the region of Grodno would maintain relations with Bialystok. Recently, the BTSK administration received delegates from "Rodzima" from the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, which is the counterpart of our "Polonia" Society, through the intermediary of "Polonia" for the purpose of discussing further direct cooperation that would include: visits to Soviet Belorussia, youth exchange programs, teacher training and self-improvement that would be analogous to similar agreements with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Mr E. Mironowicz has downright unlimited possibilities for spontaneous, national Belorussian activity arising from his own initiative that are absolutely legal and accepted by the Polish authorities since it is on such principles that the activity of the national minorities, that distinguish themselves from the surrounding majority, is based. In "Niwa" we constantly read complaints about the low participation of Belorussian intelligentsia in the society's activity. The fact is stressed that even in letters to the Main Administration of the BTSK, its members and supporters use Polish. What an appreciative ground for Beloreruthenization—of much greater value than distorting reality!

After this review of the range of activities for Mr Mironowicz, the question, translated from the German adage, forces itself to be asked: "Dear girl! What more do you want?"

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